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The Southern Friend

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

VOLUME XXVII

2005

NUMBER 1

*Taking a Stand: Living Memories of
Integration in the Civil Rights Era*

TEN CONTRIBUTIONS, PLUS A 1954 STATEMENT
ON PUBLIC SCHOOL INTEGRATION BY THE NORTH
CAROLINA YEARLY MEETING (FUM)

*Friends Historical Collection
Annual Report, 2004–2005*

BY GWENDOLYN GOSNEY ERICKSON

BOOK REVIEWS

*Enterprising Spirit: The Borens of
Guilford County*

*Strength and Honor; The Life of Dolley
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*The Tendering Presence: Essays on
John Woolman*

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The Southern Friend

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

The Southern Friend is published annually by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Members of the society, for whom the annual dues are \$20, receive the journal without charge. Back issues may be purchased. Prices vary according to specific issue and range from \$2.50 (single back issues) to \$10 (recent double issues). See current price list at the back of this issue for details.

Editorial Policy

The editors welcome articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in the Southeast. Articles must be well written and properly documented. Contributors should conform to the most recent edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* and Kate L. Turabian's *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* in preparing manuscripts. Submissions should be sent in both paper and electronic versions. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to the editor at editor@ncfhs.org or mailed to Mary Browning, NCFHS, P.O. Box 8502, Greensboro, NC 27419-0502.

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Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts*, *America: History and Life*, and *Periodical Source Index* (PERSI).

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"Friends' Meeting House at New Garden, North Carolina, 1869. Erected in 1791." Lithograph by John Collins. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

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2005
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v. 27-28
2005-2006

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ISSN 0-6743-7439

TAKING A STAND:

Living Memories of Integration In the Civil Rights Era

Introduction

Devoting an issue of The Southern Friend to the collected memories of those who were active in the desegregation of schools and other public facilities during the 1950s and 1960s was the inspired brainchild of Betsy Farlow, president of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. The results of the invitation to submit brief articles are published here. Each piece illuminates a different aspect of the turmoil of the time, but each is very much to the point. The authors have our most sincere thanks.

— Mary A. Browning, editor
The Southern Friend

Believing that the integration of races in the public schools is a matter of concern to all Christian citizens of our State, we would remind Friends of North Carolina Yearly Meeting that:

1. The decision of the Supreme Court finding that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional is in accord with the long held religious principles of the Society of Friends; and,
2. In humility we must realize that had we applied our efforts to the practice of our principles in years past, the present decision would cause us little problem.

We would also remind Friends that active participation in the solving of the problems of integration of the public schools is squarely within the traditional fields of special concern of Friends, in that:

1. It is one aspect of the practical application of our testimony against racial prejudice.
2. It is of basic importance to our interest that good education be maintained.
3. It is in accord with our respect for law and our special interest in good law, that is, moral law directed toward the development of individual dignity.
4. Most important, it invokes the Quaker responsibility to provide Christian reconciliation and adequate sound judgments wherever tension and misunderstanding exist.

To the end that the Society of Friends in North Carolina may assist in the orderly transition of our public schools in each local area from a segregated to an integrated system, we urge:

1. Each Monthly Meeting to consider carefully a minute to the school board or boards of the area; and that, insofar as the Meeting is actually and inwardly prepared so to do:
 - a. Advise the school boards that the Meeting will support and assist them in solving problems arising out of the transition.
 - b. See that such support for conscientious school boards be actively forthcoming by personal assurance and cooperation of individuals.
2. That Monthly Meetings encourage inter-racial conferences in the community to work out the problems that might be expected.
3. That each Monthly Meeting report its findings and results to the Yearly Meeting in order that our various experiences may benefit each other.

— North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM)

August 5, 1954



Reflections On A Gentle Man

By

Margaret Hudson Williard Pipkin

It was spring 1947 at WCUNC (now UNCG). The college was sponsoring Religious Emphasis Week with Clarence Jordan as featured speaker. He met with small groups in dorm living rooms, telling us in his gentle Georgian tone about his work at Koinonia Farm at Americus, Georgia.¹

This interracial community was founded on the teachings of Jesus. Blacks and whites are brothers and sisters, children of one Heavenly Father. They worked the land together and shared the proceeds, as did the first century Christians. The doors were never locked, because if someone took something, he must have needed it more. "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away" was to be taken literally. If a borrower failed to repay, one did not ask for repayment. These teachings of Jesus were being carried out in 1947!

World War II was a recent memory then, the dream of a United Nations organization close to reality. Following Jesus meant, "War no more." Clarence Jordan convinced me to be a pacifist. World peace

Margaret Hudson Williard Pipkin, Greensboro, North Carolina, member of New Garden Friends Meeting.

¹ The documentary, "Briars in the Cotton Patch, The Story of Koinonia Farm," was shown on UNC-TV, February 12, 2005.

became my goal, not only in New York and Georgia, but right there wherever I was.

In Greensboro and later in Charlotte, I began to sit in the back of the bus. No driver ever asked me to move up front. A friend asked me to fill in for her as a speaker in a black church near Johnson C. Smith University. From the heart, I spoke of our common bonds as brothers and sisters in following Jesus.

Fortunately, I married one who shared these beliefs. Robert Williard invited his black co-workers to eat in our apartment in Baltimore. Later, living in Jackson, Mississippi, I taught Spanish and French in an upper middle class high school. Our Spanish department sponsored bus trips to Monterrey and Mexico City each year during spring break. By 1974 black students were included.

Jackson (Mississippi) Public Schools countered the court-ordered desegregation with a fruit-basket style reassignment of students and teachers based on the 60–40 percent population split of the city. Prior to this, all black students had attended Lanier High School in the center of the city. In the first year of integration students were transferred at midyear, and Charles Evers' daughter joined my second-period class. Culture shock prevailed.

High school football and basketball games on Friday nights had been preceded by a pep rally during activity period at the white high schools. Black students now wanted to have their customary dance as well—in the school patio!

Previously, busing had been used only for students living more than a mile from their neighborhood school. Now all students were bussed to their newly assigned schools across town in order to maintain the 60–40 racial balance in each school. The result—white flight!

Citizens Council Schools and private academies were opened quickly. Curriculum changes in Jackson Public Schools were made, offering Individualized Instruction, open classrooms and a choice of college preparatory or general education courses to cover the diversity of ability and educational goals of the students.

After retirement in 1982 I continued to work with an interracial

chapter of the American Association of University Women, and directed a Public Forum on the Status of Women in Africa. In 1988 my husband died in Mississippi. I returned to my native city of Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1991, and married a retired Quaker minister and professor emeritus of Guilford College, John Moses Pipkin. Since his death in 2000, I continue to attend New Garden Friends Meeting and to work on an undoing racism committee, as well as on an inter-racial group known as Women Improving Race Relations.

Today there are no Quakers in Mississippi. During the Civil Rights struggle, the American Friends Service Committee sent workers to help, but after integration they did not remain.

To find a group of like-minded Christians working towards the principles of pacifism and improving relations between members of our one human race is for me like finding another Koinonia.



Excerpt from
Reflections on a Convinced Friend:
***Carroll Spurgeon Feagins*²**

By
Mary E. B. Feagins

When the Supreme Court made the decision of May 1954, to require the public schools to integrate *with all deliberate speed*, Carroll and two other Guilford faculty members, Hiram Hilty, and Whitfield Cobb, felt led to encourage this movement. Late in August 1955, while their wives visited together downstairs, no doubt thinking about how their husbands upstairs were implementing their plan, these three fathers of public school children were writing a letter to the local school committee. They chose this method because North Carolina had decided on the *Pearsall Plan*, leaving it to local authorities to devise their own method of dealing with the Supreme Court decision. The letter reads:

Mary E. B. Feagins, Greensboro, North Carolina, member of New Garden Meeting.

² Mary E. B. Feagins, *Reflections on a Convinced Friend: Carroll Spurgeon Feagins* (Burnsville, North Carolina: 2003) 21–25. Used with permission.

Guilford College, N. C.

August 30, 1955

Mr. David Hodgin, Chairman
The Guilford School Committee
Guilford College, N. C.

Dear Mr. Hodgin:

We are some patrons of the Guilford School who, like most citizens, are interested in the public schools, especially because they educate and influence our own children.

We accept in good faith the United States Supreme Court's decision of May 1954, which declared enforced segregation of races in public schools unconstitutional. And we believe it both just and wise for our local School Committee to admit Negro pupils from this school district if and when they make individual application.

We are sending this letter in the hope that, knowing of such views among parents in the community, you, the members of our local School Committee, will be encouraged to take this step and thus avoid the inevitable bitterness of litigation if action is any longer postponed. A copy of this letter is being sent to the Guilford County Board of Education.

Sincerely and respectfully yours,

Hiram H. Hilty	Ethel P. Mackie
Mary B. Feagins	J. J. Stewart
Martha B. Meredith	Maude P. Stafford
Betty G. Kaufman	P. J. Morgan
Mary Edith Hinshaw	Whitfield Cobb
S. B. Hinshaw	Margaret Lee Pollack Cobb
Beth N. Puckett	C. S. Feagins
Geo. R. Neave	George McBride
Hazel B. Neave	Ruth L. Stewart
David L. Meredith	John Bradshaw
Howard Kaufman	Charles F. Thomas
Evelyn W. Bradshaw	Lucile A. Thomas
C. M. Mackie	David G. Neave

Walter W. Arndt	Ruth Maynard
Miriam S. Arndt	Margaret Gaskill
Algie I. Newlin	Margaret F. Coltrane
Eve M. Newlin	John Coltrane

A copy of the letter reached *The Greensboro Record* for the Friday evening news, September 2, 1955. Under the headline "Whites Ask Guilford School Integration," a staff writer, Dorothy Ann Benjamin, gave the text of the letter, listed the names of the signers, and stated: "The signatures on the copy sent to E. D. Idol, county superintendent of schools, and the school board were in long hand and one was illegible."

. . . It is believed that the school committee will meet for its regular session Saturday, Sept. 10. However, the committee members may appear before the Guilford County Board of Education at its meeting at 10 A.M. tomorrow at the courthouse if they choose to do so.

In an adjoining column with the headline "Race Integration Found Worsening School Behavior," a Negro and a white educator, Harry J. Walker and Robert T. Bower, are quoted from Washington, D.C., Sept. 2, as saying:

. . . There are likely to be added pupil behavior patterns as race segregation ends in public schools. . . . Washington, D.C., first city to lower the race barriers in public schools in obedience to the Supreme Court decision, has found the number of problem cases great enough to be of "serious concern."

They jointly reported that there would be "certain manifestations of maladjustment" and that "this would be reflected in [a list of five examples]." None of these would sound encouraging to the thirty-four signers; instead, each example would invite objection to their request.

By the next morning, Saturday, September 3, 1955, a headline in the *Greensboro Daily News* reads: "Group of White Parents Urge Guilford School Integration." The article beneath describes the content of the letter, the close proximity of Guilford School to Guilford, a "Quaker-affiliated four-year college," and the relation of "a number of the signers" to the Society of Friends and New Garden Meeting. The Society of Friends is described as "a religious denomination which

has always stated its belief in the equality of man.”

Seth B. Hinshaw is mentioned as “executive secretary of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends.” The pastor of New Garden Meeting, Charles N. Thomas, is also mentioned as one of the signers, along with those who are teachers at Guilford College: Hiram Hilty, David I. Meredith, Whitfield Cobb, C. S. Feagins, Walter W. Arndt and Algie I. Newlin. In addition, John Bradshaw, public relations officer and alumni secretary at Guilford, was listed.

The petition, according to the article, “expressed hope that the school committee will implement integration ‘and thus avoid the inevitable bitterness of litigation if action is any longer delayed.’”

The *Daily News* reported on Sunday, September 4, the receipt on the preceding day of “a telegram from Mr. and Mrs. J. Floyd Moore which said: ‘*Boston Herald* reports proposed admission Negroes Guilford School. Congratulation, fellow Carolinians. Urge school committee approval.’ Moore, an assistant professor of Biblical literature and religion at Guilford College, is on leave studying at Boston University for his doctorate.”

When the Guilford County Board of Education met, the letter was not read. Superintendent Idol said he knew they all were familiar with its contents since it had been printed in full in yesterday’s papers. A board member stated that he thought the resolution they had passed a few months ago to continue to operate segregated schools this year “would preclude any action on this letter.” With little further discussion, they went on to other business, but not without another board member’s comment: “This matter of desegregation works both ways. And one way we can work it to maybe satisfy these folks (the petitioners) is that we can assign some of their children to the Negro schools.”

This brought additional remarks suggesting that it should be done only with the desire of the petitioners and the approval of the Negroes.

By September 7, one of the signers, David Neave, who lived conveniently closer to Florence School than their white school, tried to enroll his children there without success. The headline reads: “Negro School Turns Away White Pupils.” The same resolution to continue

★ ★ ★
Final

The Greensboro Record

Local Forecast
 11am till after-
 noon. Some rain
 likely tonight
 and Saturday.
 74
 A. P. HIGGINS, Meteorologist

Vol. LXV, No. 210.

This Record is in its 65th Year of Service

Greensboro, N. C., Friday Evening, September 2, 1935.

Twenty-Two Pages Today

Prices Five C

WHITES ASK GUILFORD SCHOOL INTEGRATION

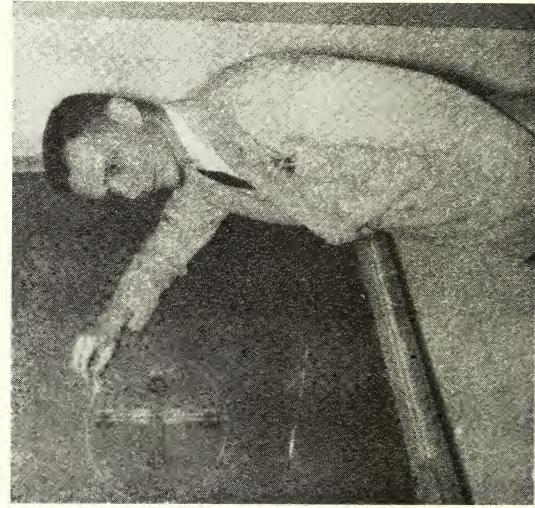
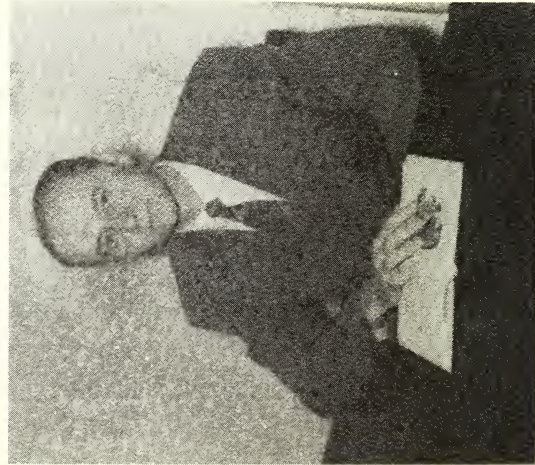
**State News
Bulletins**
 Admission Of Negroes
 Called 'Just And Wise'
 In Statement From 34

TRU. TALKS ADJOURNED
 LONDON, Sept. 2 (UP)—The day
 of the British parliament
 adjourned today.

State's Tax Collections Soa

Why He Can't Read

General Fun



operating segregated schools gave the principal no choice. Also by this time, 330 objectors to the original letter rushed through a petition with their signatures. The letter continued to draw protests, according to the *Greensboro Daily News*, Tuesday, September 6. It also reports from *Southern School News* that: “opposition is ‘hardening against’ desegregation in the seven-state area of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia.”

Some of the opposition to the letter became quite unpleasant, from ugly and threatening phone calls, to the firing of one signer from his job in the community, to the setting off of a bomb in the driveway of another, and to the boycotting of a long established furniture business, whose owner said, with wry humor, that, at least, some outstanding debts were paid off by the more honorable deserting customers.

The source of all these accounts is a scrapbook prepared by Carroll at the time and preserved among his papers. One good thing came from this furor: Although no integration took place in local schools that year, by the following year, when it did come about, there was a quiet atmosphere at the schools. It must have been beneficial to have the opportunity to vent all the smoldering racist feelings in 1955—a whole year after the Supreme Court decision—and to foster healing in preparation for the inevitable implementation of the decision after another year of “deliberate speed.”

At left: Masthead and headline from The Greensboro Record, September 2, 1955. Reprinted with permission of The News & Record, Greensboro, N.C. Photos (L–R): Hiram H. Hilty, Whitfield Cobb, and Carroll S. Feagins. The Quaker (Guilford College Yearbook), 1954. North Carolina Friends Historical Collection.



A Footnote

By

Joan Newlin Poole

The evening of September 3, 1955 started out to be an ordinary one. I had returned from work to our Greensboro home on Foxwood Drive, and had our customary early dinner with my family. Most of my consciousness was absorbed by recent and impending life changes. I had graduated from college that summer and was to be married in Minneapolis in less than three months. Perhaps this explains the fact that my memory of the evening and the events preceding it is sketchy at best.

I knew my parents, Algie and Eva Newlin, had signed the letter to the Guilford School Committee, but I don't remember seeing the newspaper headline that morning or hearing my parents speak of it.

I do remember my father calling my mother, my brother and me around dusk and, in his customary calm and reasoned manner, saying he thought it would be best if we went down to the basement. There were cars outside and a group of a dozen or more men had gathered in our front yard. I later found out that at least one of them had a shotgun, a man who was prominent in the community, one my father knew quite well. Dad feared that one of them might have a bomb of some sort. I know he stayed upstairs, whether or not he went outside

Joan Newlin Poole, Summerfield, North Carolina, member of New Garden Meeting.

and spoke to them I do not know. Apparently they milled about muttering threats for a time and slowly got into their cars and drove off.

The letter was a polite suggested alternative to a longstanding injustice. The headline in the newspaper and the angry men in our yard vividly illustrated that even such a (by today's standards) mild action was perceived by many in the community as a bold threat to the status quo they wanted unchanged, a threat that merited a threatening response.



North Carolina in the Sixties³

By

Wil Hartzler

In 1954, before the U. S. Supreme Court, Thurgood Marshall, later a court member himself, argued before the Court that the earlier separate but equal doctrine failed to provide equal educational opportunities for black students. The Court agreed in what has become the historic precedent, *Brown v. Board of Education*. That decision was met with large-scale resistance across the South. In 1957, however, the North Carolina legislature enacted the Pearsall Plan which granted local school boards the option of allowing black students to transfer to previously white schools on application from their parents. Schools in Greensboro, High Point, and Charlotte were the first to take this step.

My family and I arrived in North Carolina in the late summer of 1959, and I assumed the position of executive secretary of the Southeastern Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee. The AFSC already had staff working on school desegregation. But also, AFSC staff assisted skilled black persons to find employment in firms

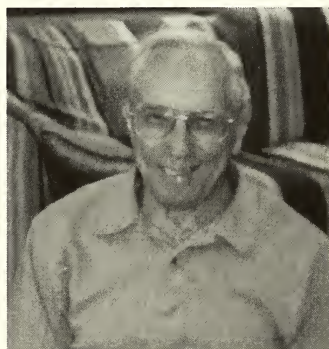
Wil Hartzler, Greensboro, North Carolina, member of Springfield Friends Meeting.

³This article is based upon the author's presentation to the 2004 annual meeting of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society.

where they were previously denied jobs. This effort was greatly assisted by federal government regulations requiring firms holding federal contracts not to discriminate in employment. Our staff would learn from personnel offices what positions were open and then find persons qualified to apply. Staff held workshops to assist job applicants to better prepare for job interviews. As it turned out, personnel offices welcomed the assistance our staff gave them, which enabled them to demonstrate that they in fact were not discriminating.

Our staff working on school desegregation called on school administrators to learn what measures parents of black students should take to qualify their children for possible transfer to previously white schools. Also, they helped parents who desired this change to prepare applications for transfer.

As noted, I arrived in High Point in August 1959. That September, Lynn and Brenda Fountain became the first black students to attend High Point's Ferndale Junior High and High Point Central High. The Fountain girls' mother was a graduate of William Penn High School and Bennett College. She had just moved back to High Point from the North where her daughters had attended integrated schools. Accordingly, in the spring of 1959 she along with several other parents



Wil Hartzler

requested transfer of their children to the white schools. It came as a shock to Mrs. Fountain that only her girls were accepted. Thus, they would be the only ones to break the color barrier that fall. Being pioneers was not something their mother had anticipated, though it was rumored that the NAACP paid her \$6,000 to move to High Point and send her girls to white schools. She is reported to have remarked, "I wonder why I didn't know about the payment."

On the opening day of school, the girls were accompanied by dentist Dr. Perry Little and pastor Rev. B. Elton Cox. As they parked their car in front of the school, a car occupied by white men parked behind them. These men got out, but darted back into their car when



*Lynn and Brenda Fountain leave the school administration building
in High Point with Dr. Perry Little and Rev. B. Elton Cox, 1959.*

High Point Enterprise photograph, 1985.

Courtesy High Point Museum.

photographers started snapping photos. There was no further outward intimidation that day.

The night before, according to the local paper, vandals had painted “Go home, nigger” on the street and “coon” on a lamp post, but students had erased the epithets before the sisters saw them.

Their school days were often punctuated by racial slurs, insults and “accidental” bumps from other students. It was reported that the

girls measured their acceptance by the decline in those occurrences. Further, their achievements began to win acknowledgment. For example, Brenda and another student competed for first seat in the band's clarinet section. The director had each of them play a piece behind a screen so that they could not be seen. And Brenda won the competition.

When school opened in the fall of 1960, seven black students were reassigned. For the first time, a first grader was admitted to the Ray Street School. Since Rosemary and I had children of our own in that school, I offered Principal Jerry Shaver whatever assistance might be needed. I also invited myself to be on hand as the child and mother arrived. There was obvious nervousness that morning, but also determination to make sure that nothing unfortunate happened. And nothing did; the police car parked out front may have helped.

Also, in September of that year, three Indian high school students from Harnett County, North Carolina, refusing the long bus rides to their Indian school in Sampson County, sat-in at the all white Dunn High School. (This action was five months before the A&T sit-ins at Woolworth's.) After days of being refused enrollment, and being completely ignored in the classroom, the high school students organized a boycott of the Indian schools. They refused to ride in the buses that took them on that long daily ride to and from their Indian school in Sampson County. I remember an historic evening in Chapel Hill, organized by our AFSC staff, when playwright Paul Green hosted a meeting of Harnett County students, parents, and Chapel Hill supporters to work out plans and financing so that a number of these students could attend desegregated schools in the Piedmont. One of the AFSC staff members and his wife took two girls into their High Point home.

While desegregation of schools in North Carolina proceeded, the school system in Prince Edward County, Virginia, resisted. Threatened with a suit by the NAACP, the board of education in 1959 countered by locking the doors of every school building in the county. Just a few days later, the all white Prince Edward Academy opened in one of Farmville's churches, with many of the county's public school teachers on its staff. For the black students, there was no place to attend school. AFSC staff found a handful of liberal whites, mainly at



Racial equality demonstration in front of the Paramount Theater, High Point, October 26, 1960. Protestors include Andrew McBride, Mary Andrews, Arline Wilson, Lynn Fountain, Brenda Fountain, Joyce Simpson, William Franklin, Bennie Bates and Peter Mason. All except the Fountain sisters were students at William Penn High School.

Dal Bayles photograph, High Point Enterprise, 1960.

Courtesy High Point Museum.

Hampden-Sydney and Longworth colleges, who were incensed at the injustice of it all, but thoroughly perplexed about what could be done against a tide of public opinion. Month after month dragged by with no opportunity for high school seniors to complete that last year of their education. Finally, with the aid of Quakers and others in the Northeast, AFSC staff found temporary homes for fifty Prince Edward County students where they could continue their educations. I will never forget the hostility of that Farmville ticket agent as I bought fifty

bus tickets to dozens of Northern destinations for these students. The end of the story is that the NAACP suit was finally won and the board reopened the schools for all of the county's students. Initially only black students attended school, but gradually white students returned to the public school classrooms.

During the 1960 Easter weekend several hundred students from college campuses across the South, many of them participants in their own nonviolent actions, gathered at Shaw University in Raleigh where the Students Nonviolent Coordination Committee (SNCC) was organized. This was the youth companion to the established Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Martin Luther King. I remember Dr. King, Fred Shuttlesworth and others urging that this be a nonviolent movement. Lengthy debate in many small groups finally resulted in a commitment to nonviolent resistance. Elected as co-chairpersons of the new organization were two students from Nashville—Diane Nash and Marion Berry.

In 1964, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act, which required the assignment of all students to public schools without regard to race. This resulted in numerous local court decisions to effect compliance with the law. And the much-maligned pattern of busing became the chief method by which compliance was achieved. Busing accomplished a degree of racial mixing of school enrollments, but also had disadvantages. Among the negatives was the weakening of parental, black and white, loyalty to and responsibility for the neighborhood school.

⁴You must be wondering why a historically black high school carried the name William Penn. In High Point at the turn of the century there was no public education provided for black children. Somehow, Quakers in New York State, learning of this circumstance, raised funds and sent teachers to High Point. They established the High Point Normal and Industrial School. Emphasis was on the so-called Three Rs and additionally for the boys the bricklaying trade. Later, funds were raised to build a more adequate building for which the community chose to recognize the pioneering educational efforts of the Quakers by giving the school a Quaker name. For many years, William Penn students participated in an annual peace oratorical contest as a way of recognizing the faith community that founded the school.

Widespread desegregation of the High Point secondary schools was accomplished in 1968 with the closing of the all-black William Penn High School.⁴ Its several hundred students were reassigned to Central High or to the newly built T. Wingate Andrews High School. The school board had developed that plan while Andrews was being built.

However, it took several meetings of the board to resolve the question of who would be the principal of the new school. The superintendent had made his selection, but the board rejected it. The board was chaired by Evelyn Thompson (a Quaker, the mother of Marietta Wright whom some of you may know). Mrs. Thompson, others on the board, and many in the black community supported the appointment of the well-regarded Samuel Burford, principal of the soon to be closed William Penn. After many months, with lots of community input, the new, integrated Andrews High opened in the fall of 1968, with Mr. Burford as its first principal.

Our younger daughter was a member of the entering ninth-grade class. Several members of Penn's faculty were reassigned to Andrews. Among those was band director J. Y. Bell, who made Andrews' the high-stepping marching band that had been the signature tradition at William Penn.



Contribution

From

Jeanette Wilson

I was assistant to Wil Hartzler for thirteen years when he headed the Southeastern Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee located in the Quaker Blair house at 1818 South Main St. in High Point. Those AFSC years were so important in defining my Quaker faith, as I had been reared a Unitarian. Since my office adjoined Wil's and the door was usually open I was influenced by everything he said and did. I treasure those years.

In downtown Greensboro one day during the time of the Woolworth sit-ins, a newspaper reporter interviewed me. He asked if I would shop at Woolworth if the store served Negroes at their lunch counter. My new Quaker faith came forward, as I replied that I would no longer shop at Woolworth if they refused to serve those of the Negro race.

Having grown up in a small Norwegian village in Minnesota, I was not exposed to other nationalities or people of color. One day a black man appeared in our village. Word spread quickly and I hurried uptown to see him.

Another influential person affecting school integration was Evelyn Thompson of our High Point Friends Meeting. She served on

Jeanette Wilson, Colfax, North Carolina, member of New Garden Meeting.

the High Point school board, as did several Quakers, during the early years when the school desegregation issue confronted that board. Evelyn held steadfast to her Quaker faith and persevered even though the school board meetings lasted many, many hours. Integration became a reality in the High Point school system.

I revere these steadfast Quakers and honor them.



Contribution

From

Carol Passmore

When the 1958–1959 school year brought, in addition to the birth of my youngest brother during a snow storm, a school fire, a twenty-five year flood, and an epidemic of some disease I failed to catch and thus don't remember, my parents decided that it might be easier to raise four children somewhere other than southeastern Kentucky. They moved us to High Point, North Carolina, where my father began teaching at High Point College. I entered the tenth grade there knowing little of Quakers except that a gray cat of my younger years bore this name. Because our small Kentucky town had very few African American citizens, I also knew little of the issues stirred by *Brown v. Board of Education*.

A year later, as I entered my junior year at High Point Central High, the civil rights movement also arrived as two sisters, Brenda Fountain at the junior high and her sister Lynn at the high school, enrolled in the all white schools. I don't remember any particular tension or concern during the summer but perhaps I wasn't paying attention. As I stood on that warm September morning with my friends, newly acquired during the previous year at school and at the First Baptist Church, the word was that we would not have trouble like some other newly

Carol Passmore, Durham, North Carolina, member of Durham Friends Meeting.

integrated schools had, but that didn't mean we need to be nice to this intruder.

That September morning would change my life, but I didn't know it then. Lynn was in three of my four morning classes, including the class just before lunch. And her locker was near mine so I invited her to join me in the cafeteria. I had never heard of a leading, and good Southern Baptist that I was, I don't recall that I felt it my Christian duty, my friends having already eliminated this possibility. Nor was it entirely an impulse, as the thought had grown over the morning. I was aware that this would not be an acceptable thing to do, but I did it.

A table opened up in the crowded cafeteria and we ate alone. Disapproval was strong. I cried myself to sleep that night and went back to school the next day determined to eat with Lynn again, and did so, despite her gentle reminder that I didn't have to. We ate alone for the next two years, joined only occasionally by some student feeling rebellious, or perhaps to be more generous, feeling a streak of conscience. We were taunted, doors were slammed on us and things thrown at us occasionally, but no more major problems ever developed.

And much was good. Lynn and I were similar in height and build, with short curly hair, she, light skinned and I, tanned. Our interests were similar, except she sang and I didn't. I continued to weep at night for several weeks, until the staff from the American Friends Service Committee High Point Regional Office who had been supporting Lynn and Brenda prior to the beginning of the school year, became aware of me and offered support. We had frequent meals at the homes of staff members, most often with Bill and Maude Bagwell, talking about our daily issues and looking at the bigger picture. Cal and Virgie Geiger were also in High Point and I am delighted, forty-five years later, to attend Durham Friends Meeting with them. We went to a weekend conference at Celo Community, happily integrating a Howard Johnson's restaurant on our way (and I returned to Celo as a camp counselor for three summers during college).

Even more exciting for me was the chance to take the train to New York City to participate in an American Friends Service Commit-

tee weeklong work camp led by Spar Hull. While there I learned a profound lesson. As a child of northern parents raised in the South, but before High Point, in towns with small African American populations, I never learned prejudice against blacks. But as I spent time in Spanish Harlem I realized that during all those Sunday school lessons in the Southern Baptist Church, I had been taught strong prejudice against Catholics. This awareness enabled me not to hate those showing racial prejudice and made real the lyrics from a song in the film *South Pacific*, which came out in 1958. As the song "You've Got to Be Carefully Taught" noted, we have to learn to hate the people our relatives hate.

Except for the AFSC activities, Lynn and I felt that we were our own small civil rights movement. We were aware of what was happening, for example, of the sit-ins at Woolworth's in nearby Greensboro on February 4, 1960. We found little support in High Point. Though I had no contact with the several Friends churches in town, I recall hearing that they were not particularly supportive of AFSC activities in the area of civil rights. My family was active in the First Baptist Church and disapproval of my behavior was subtle. My Sunday school teacher explained that since blue jays and cardinals did not interact, the same surely applied to people of different colors.

Fall of 1961 took me to Women's College, now UNC-Greensboro, where twenty-five of the 3,262 students were African American. I soon was acquainted with all the black students and friends with several. As far as I could tell, they were fairly well integrated into the university community and had few and minor problems. On campus the NAACP and CORE held meetings, and I was not the only white student attending. WC students had joined A&T students at the Woolworth's demonstrations. The university had, however, placed one restriction on students. If we wished to participate in any of the demonstrations in Greensboro, we were forbidden to wear our class jackets and class rings. Both bore the WC emblem and quickly identified one as a WC student. I might add that they were a source of embarrassment to students who wore them while traveling in England, where WC meant water closet. Though students protested this ruling, I don't recall that it was changed, and WC became UNCG in 1964.

When I left High Point I also left behind the Southern Baptists but did not move immediately to Friends. Every Sunday morning the quad was lined with vehicles, buses from a few large churches and cars from others. I worked my way down the line, visiting many denominations. I found the Friends United Meeting programmed meetings too similar to Baptists, at least in the style of the worship. None of the churches I visited were integrated or particularly supportive on civil rights issues. It was the Bahais and later the Unitarians, both supportive of civil rights issues that I attended for some time. Though I attended meeting during the summers at Celo and visited other unprogrammed meetings, it was only when Friendship Meeting began at Guilford College in 1968 that I became a regular attendee at a Friends Meeting.

But the AFSC was there and active. The college secretary, Dick Ramsey, worked to bring together students from the white schools, UNC-G, Guilford, and Greensboro College with students from A&T and Bennett College. We met for discussions, conferences, and weekend workshops. In the spring of 1963 a group of us went for four weekends to Bahama, just north of Durham, where we helped an African American Methodist church dig a basement under their existing building. Church members participated with us and each Saturday night brought a wonderful potluck dinner. One weekend Dick was unable to lead the group and AFSC sent a visiting staff person from Switzerland. He was unfamiliar with potlucks and rushed out to buy large cans of corn and beans, which we hid to avoid offending our generous hosts.

During the summer of 1963, after my sophomore year, I participated in Operations Crossroads Africa, a program designed to have American college students doing manual labor with African students. My small group had a black leader and was divided equally racially, consisting entirely of students who had been active in the civil right movement. In Bechuanaland, now Botswana, we lived and worked together while building a library. Although we were objects of intense curiosity to the local population, who had never seen American blacks before, we encountered no problems except the refusal of the South African government to allow us to enter that country as a "mixed race"

group. Since we went to the border mainly to make a point, we weren't overly concerned.

After college I went to England for a year and our attention was turning from civil rights to the Vietnam War. I can tell you the adventures of a train car of peace activists traveling from Florida for the November 1969 March on Washington, but that's another story.



Threads in a Tapestry of Hope: Lessons from a Sit-In

By

*William P. H. Stevens Jr.*⁵

I. Framing the Sit-In Within Its Context

To claim a comprehensive view of the 1960 sit-in, we must revisit the context in which it took place. The conventions of Jim Crow were very much a part of the fabric of life in North Carolina then as in the rest of the South, though Winston-Salem carried an air of civility that generally muted racist expression more than was the case in cities further south. At Wake Forest College, we swam in a sea of white faces with not a single black person among the student and faculty populations. For the most part, we accepted this without question because we had never considered any other pattern. Segregation was so ingrained within the larger culture that we had very little experience on which to base an informed opposition.

⁵ *William P. H. Stevens Jr.* was pastor of Greensboro Monthly Meeting from 1971 to 1993, when he began a retreat ministry at his home, Glenagape, in Oak Ridge, North Carolina. He and his fiancée Margaret Dutton led Wake Forest College participation in a 1960 sit-in in Winston-Salem. (Margaret Stevens died in 1979.) Stevens shared some of the following recollections at the November 2004 gathering of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society.

As the calendar turned to 1960 in the spring of my senior year at Wake Forest, the burgeoning civil rights movement was just one of a number of issues clamoring for my attention. I was engaged to Margaret Ann Dutton, also a senior at Wake Forest, and we planned to marry the day before graduation in June. She and I were arranging a summer trip to Africa. I had been admitted to Yale Divinity School and so was busy preparing for that transition as well.

But the civil rights movement also was on our minds, thanks in large part to the influence of Wake Forest religion professor G. McLeod Bryan, who at the time was an outspoken opponent of apartheid in South Africa and an advocate of nonviolent civil disobedience as a positive force for social change. Several of us who would take part in the sit-in were studying ethics with Dr. Bryan, and the events of the American civil rights movement were part of our discussions. His influence was such that I still regard him as the most significant mentor of my academic experience, advanced studies at Yale and Drew included.

On February 1, 1960 four black college students made history by sitting down at the white lunch counter at Greensboro's downtown Woolworth, refusing to leave when they were not served. Their simple yet bold plan captured the imagination of young people throughout the South, and almost overnight the sit-in movement erupted. One week later, Winston-Salem black community activist Carl Matthews sat down at a white lunch counter in Winston-Salem with the same intention. Day after day he sat there, waiting to be served. Naturally, we were aware of his courageous actions and those of countless other peaceful black activists throughout the South. So it was in this context that a handful of us—Margaret, one or two others of Dr. Bryan's students, and myself—met with some students at the all-black Winston-Salem Teachers College (WSTC) under Carl Matthews' tutelage to concoct a plan for a joint sit-in at one of Winston-Salem's two downtown Woolworth stores.⁶

⁶Matthews and I forged a friendship there that continues to this day. Over the years, we met for lunch a number of times at the Woolworth store. Then, last year, when I married Holly Jennings, he came to our wedding. I am grateful for his presence in my life.



Left to right: Victor Johnson, Carl Matthews, Bill Stevens at the re-dedication of the historical marker at Fourth and Liberty streets in Winston-Salem. The photo was taken on the forty-second anniversary of the 1960 Winston-Salem sit-in.

Photograph by Carole Hunter.

II. The Sit-In and Its Aftermath

The day of the sit-in, February 23, began like any other Tuesday, with required chapel attendance at Wake Forest at 10:00 A.M. Margaret had assumed a position of leadership among the Wake Forest contingent, quickly moving to identify other students sympathetic with the civil rights movement and garnering their agreement to participate. When the call came after chapel from the WSTC students to join them, we quickly formed carpools to travel to the sit-in site.

As we gathered with the black students outside the Woolworth store, the employees, guessing what was about to happen, closed shop and locked the door. But a second downtown Woolworth was located just blocks away, so we simply walked to it. Fortunately, the employees of the first Woolworth apparently did not alert the other store.

The sit-in ended almost as soon as it started. Margaret was the first to sit down at the counter. My memory is that she ordered coffee and pie. When they came, she slid them over to the WSTC student sitting next to her. The manager of the store immediately told us to vacate the premises, warning that the police would be called if we did not. One or two Wake Forest students left, but ten of us chose to stay with Carl Matthews and the twelve WSTC students. The police, stationed nearby, were summoned, and moments later, at 12:25 P.M., we were arrested on trespassing charges, herded into "separate but equal" paddy wagons, and transported to jail.

Placed into segregated cells at the jail, we chose to call Dr. Bryan. He was out, but a colleague in his office contacted the chaplain, L.H. Hollingsworth, who came to the jail after arranging our bail, set at \$100 each. The NAACP posted bail for the black students. Dr. Bryan convinced a personal friend and attorney, Clyde Randolph, to represent us at the trial. Without Dr. Bryan's advocacy on our behalf, we would have been hard-pressed to find private counsel willing to take our case; even so, Dr. Bryan recalls that his friend showed little enthusiasm for the assignment.

The trial took place the morning of March 2, after we Wake Forest students had shared breakfast with Dr. Bryan in a private dining room at school, at which he led us in prayer to prepare us for what lay ahead.

When we arrived at the courtroom, we found it packed with journalists and spectators. The prosecutor, C.F. Burns, having learned that Margaret and I attended a communist youth parade in Vienna, Austria during our European travels the previous summer, chose to interrogate only Margaret, resting his case on allegations of communist activity. Margaret, however, adamantly maintained that we simply watched the parade as tourists and had no connections with its organizers.

After that exchange, the trial came to a quick end, as the rest of the defendants agreed to accept the decision handed to Margaret: guilty of trespassing, with judgment suspended straight. Soon afterwards, that decision was revoked, with the judge issuing no ruling except for a “prayer of judgment continued for 12 months.” By taking this route, he ensured that the case would not be appealed to a higher court, potentially reaching the United States Supreme Court. Such a tactic often was employed under Jim Crow, to keep segregation-related cases from involving federal jurisdictions.

I’m often asked how others at Wake Forest and in the broader community reacted to the sit-in. Responses were mixed. On campus, the student population was divided about evenly in its support of and opposition to our actions. Among the faculty, there were those who took the stoic academician’s view that we needed to return our focus to our studies, those who believed it was wrong to break laws under any circumstances, and those who sympathized with our aims and actions. Under pressure from Governor Luther Hodges to stop student protests and from some trustees to expel us, Wake Forest President Harold Tribble formally summoned us, chastising us for our involvement in the sit-in and ordering us to return our focus to academics. It would be many years before I learned the extent to which Dr. Bryan had intervened on our behalf, preventing us from being expelled. And it wasn’t until last year that Dr. Bryan told me that Wake Forest, unable to fire him because of his tenured position, docked his salary for several years because of his advocacy.

Off campus, reaction was just as mixed. Margaret received several heartfelt letters of support, but also a hate letter addressed to “Miss Negro Loving Margaret Ann Dutton” from an individual in Lexington.

Perhaps the person who suffered most was Margaret's father, H.C. Dutton. A quiet man who coveted the acceptance of peers at his church, West Market Street United Methodist in Greensboro, he was criticized by some members there for "raising such a daughter." But Margaret also received a most encouraging letter of support from the church's minister of education.

III. A Few Reflections: Then and Now

For months following the trial, Carl Matthews continued his voluntary station at various white lunch counters in Winston-Salem, joined off and on by other local black activists. Finally, on May 25, he was served at the Woolworth counter, two days after downtown lunch counters and restaurants agreed to desegregate their premises. Thus ended the Winston-Salem sit-in, historically significant for three reasons:

- It was one of the first integrated sit-ins of the civil rights movement.
- It was the first sit-in to result in arrests and a trial.
- It led to the first agreement to integrate eateries as a result of nonviolent civil disobedience.

(Though the Greensboro sit-in is better known, Greensboro's restaurants were not desegregated until July 25.)

Less specific effects followed more slowly. Weeks after our sit-in, a poll of Wake Forest students showed that fifty-five percent of them opposed admitting students of color to its campus. Yet, two years later, the board of trustees did vote to integrate admissions, and one year after that, the first black student—albeit an African rather than an American—enrolled. Though we were dressed down by the administration in 1960, Wake Forest would spend more than \$50,000 four decades later on a two-day commemoration of the sit-in, claiming it as a proud moment in the university's history.

However, I'm uneasy with such high praise. At the commemoration, I remarked that we were just one thread in a broad tapestry of events that propelled the civil rights movement forward. Because the original Greensboro sit-in was an idea that could be easily imitated, sit-ins spread to fifty-four cities in nine southern states.

Today, social problems seem every bit as pervasive and intractable as the racism of the old South. We have come a great distance, but we have far to go, farther than we realize, for what is at stake are not only human rights, but also tree rights and wild animal rights. We desecrate the land and befoul the air and water. We forget that we are part of one ecosystem, that we are all God's children. As one of the WSTC activists told me, I am not free until we all are free.

But I can say this of my experience in the Winston-Salem sit-in: It convinced me that the actions of a few, repeated again and again by others with shared aims, do make a difference. That gives me hope. As Helen Keller once said, "I am only one; but still I am one. I cannot do everything, but still I can do something. I will not refuse to do the something I can do."



Early Reminiscences⁷

By

Peter Klopfer

Our flight from Cambridge (England) to Durham (North Carolina) was hardly of global proportions. Yet, for us, it was a change of worlds. The shock of arriving, in 1958, from cosmopolitan Cambridge to provincial Durham cannot be likened to a jump into an icy lake: Durham was hot and humid that August, and Cambridge cold and wet. It was still a shock, however. Raleigh Durham Airport consisted of a single grass-lined runway, along which baggage was dumped. The modest airport building (with its immodest sign proclaiming it an international airport!) did, however, boast four separate restrooms, respectively labeled “colored women,” “ladies,” “colored men” and “gentlemen.” The significance of this dawned only some days later when we were rudely taught that launderette signs identifying certain machines as for “colored” referred to the user and not the clothes.

Our rural neighbors greeted us cordially the day after our arrival, bearing gifts of food and helpful advice—but also expressing great

Peter Klopfer, Durham, North Carolina, teacher, parent and board member.

⁷This article first appeared in *Carolina Friends School Manual*. It was supplied to *The Southern Friend* by the author and is used with permission.

relief at the discovery we were not Catholic or Mormon. Being Friends wasn't quite as good as being Baptists, we were gently informed, but at least we could still be allowed to join the local volunteer fire department.

Our daughter's principal playmate in those early weeks of our arrival was the daughter of a nearby tenant family. They became close friends (thirty years later, the families still meet), but the seeds of racial separation were unknowingly being sown. When daughter Erika was entered into a Durham nursery she complained that she found "those kind" of children disagreeable. "What kind do you prefer?" we enquired. "Those like Mickey" (the tenant child), "you know, with curly hair." Balmy climate or not, the cold rains of Cambridge seemed infinitely preferable to having our children infected by the virus of racial stereotyping—even if skin color was overlooked. The only alternative seemed to be founding a community here which would not perpetuate racial myths and segregation. The Durham Friends Meeting seemed an unlikely nucleus for such a community. The nineteenth-century queries still in use were long on injunctions about avoiding "pernicious" books, short on advices regarding human relations. Some Friends strongly resented the "impatience" of new arrivals from the "outside," and discussions of racial segregation were often unfriendly as well as un-Friendly.

Happily, there were Friends of other leadings, too, and a small group from Chapel Hill and Durham soon convened to discuss ways of addressing the issues. The formation of a school open to children of all races and founded on Friends' principles, it was quickly agreed, would be the most useful step we could take. We took it, and it was.

Editor's Note

Peter Klopfer referred The Southern Friend to "The Demise of an 'Extraordinary Criminal Procedure': Klopfer v. North Carolina and the Incorporation of the Sixth Amendment's Speedy Trial Provision," by Joseph Mosnier, an award-winning article published in

The Journal of Supreme Court History, 1966, Vol. II, pp. 136–160.⁸

The article skillfully and in considerable detail takes the reader through the events which led Peter Klopfer from an attempt to integrate a Chapel Hill restaurant, into legal limbo, and finally to the United States Supreme Court. What follows is a brief review of that article.

It began in January 1964, after more than a hundred persons had been arrested for demonstrating against segregated businesses in the small town of Chapel Hill that had grown up around the University of North Carolina. Most of those arrested were college students.

The Chapel Hill Freedom Committee found six university professors willing to bolster the effort by joining in a demonstration at Watts' Grill, a segregated restaurant in the town. The volunteers from UNC were Albert Amon and William Wynn; and from Duke University were Peter H. Klopfer, David Smith, Frederick Herzog, Harmon Smith and Robert Osborn. The last three were ordained Methodist ministers. Klopfer was thirty-three, an assistant professor of zoology, a Quaker, and an outspoken advocate for racial equality. All were white; neither Duke University nor UNC had any African American faculty members at the time. The attempt to integrate Watts' Grill was made on January 3, 1964.

The participants were duly arrested for trespassing, a misdemeanor. This put them among the several hundred other persons who had been charged with this offense so far during the Chapel Hill demonstrations. Surprisingly, the prosecutor chose to try each faculty member individually, a tactic probably intended to show how determined officials were to make an example of these demonstrators. Many prominent Durham attorneys refused to represent them, but, finally, Wade H. Penny Jr., a young man just two years out of Duke Law School, agreed to do so.

⁸ A copy of this complete article is available at the Friends Historical Collection, Hege Library at Guilford College and is well worth the hour or so that might be invested in reading it.

Trials of the first six faculty members went quickly, and all resulted in convictions. However, Klopfer's jury deadlocked at his trial on March 12, and the judge declared a mistrial. Rather than retry Klopfer, Thomas (Dick) Cooper Jr., the local prosecutor, chose—after a long delay—to employ a procedural device known as the “nolle prosequi with leave.” This left the case pending until whenever he, the prosecutor, decided to go ahead with it. The effect of the nol pros, as it was called, was to suspend the statute of limitations, and it left Klopfer in a sort of limbo, with an undecided criminal charge against him, which could continue indefinitely, dependent upon the whim of the prosecutor.

During the period between the mistrial and the entry of the nol pros, the U. S. Supreme Court had passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Additionally, the public accommodation provisions of the act had been validated. This led Klopfer and his attorney to feel sure that if there were a new trial, the original charge would be found invalid, which would dispose of the whole business by dismissal. However, this could not happen until the local prosecutor put him on trial again, and the prosecutor refused to do so.

Klopfer next appealed to the North Carolina Supreme Court, arguing that the nol pros denied him a speedy trial, which was his right, guaranteed by the Sixth Amendment. His appeal was not successful.

He then appealed to the United States Supreme Court. That body had never yet held that the states were bound by the Sixth Amendment guarantee of a speedy trial. However, Klopfer and Wade Penny hoped that the justices now might be ready to change that, since they had been moving toward giving criminal defendants more constitutional protections at the state level.

Beginning in 1961, this court, the Warren Court, had been placing obligations upon states to observe in more and more instances the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. This clause, the subject of continuing controversy since its ratification in 1868, held that:

No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due

process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

So, the issue was this: To what extent did the Bill of Rights apply to the states, when they had a right to make their own laws except where the Constitution gave overriding authority to the federal government?

Casting the certiorari petition to the court in such a manner that it would find its way to a hearing was a victory in itself for Penny. He emphasized in the petition the burden upon Klopfer of the unresolved criminal charge, the civil rights aspect of the matter, and the possibility that the nol pros with leave could be used as a means to inhibit free speech. The justices agreed to hear the case.

The State of North Carolina's brief to the court defended the nol pros with leave, arguing that it did not prejudice a defendant's standing, and that a defendant had no right to compel the state to prosecute. Further, it argued that the Sixth Amendment's speedy trial provision was not mandatory upon the states, although it conceded, "... most of the other Sixth Amendment rights are in fact binding on the states through the Fourteenth Amendment."

Oral arguments in the matter of Klopfer v. North Carolina were held on December 8, 1966 with each side allowed thirty minutes to present its case. Penny's remarks were straightforward, and most of the questions to him from the justices showed how curious they were about the use of nol pros with leave. When the state's turn came, the attorney's presentation brought from the justices more questions about nol pros. Their questions soon led the state's attorney to say that nol pros with leave was a form of dismissal of a case. This brought even more questions leading before it was over to a good bit of confusion on the part of the attorney.

Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote the opinion that was delivered on March 13, 1967. It held that the right to a speedy trial was "as fundamental as any of the rights secured by the Sixth Amendment" and a basic constitutional right. The opinion denounced nol pros with leave as an "extraordinary criminal procedure" that North Carolina had used against Klopfer, saying that it had been used to deprive Klopfer of his right to a speedy trial. He ordered that the decision by the North Carolina Supreme Court be reversed.



New Girl In School⁹

By

William Eagles

It was 1965, my senior year. She was the first black to come to our school. I wished that the first had been a boy. I thought I would know how to greet a boy, how to talk to him. But I didn't quite know how to do anything right since it was a girl. Now, I don't even remember her name.

Ms. Felton made it easier. She asked me to show this new student to her class. I did. I didn't do it well. Just well enough to feel better about myself, but not nearly well enough to make anyone in her place feel any better about her daunting undertaking. I really thought that, and the occasional nodded greeting, would be the end of my failure. But C.J. gave me the story.

On Saturday nights, the Tarboro American Legion had a teenage dance. My parents had told us not to go. Fairly often, we went. (My father knew, but never said anything to me.) It was at the American Legion building outside town. If you were over nineteen, they didn't let you in. That meant that outside there would be a handful of guys too old to get in and too out of it to have a better plan. They would

William Eagles, Greensboro, North Carolina, attorney, member of New Garden Meeting.

⁹ Friends General Conference, 1992, 2001, published a version of this article written for children, in *Lighting Candles in the Dark: Stories of Courage and Love in Action*.

usually be drinking and some younger guys would be drinking with them. That's what C. J. was doing.

He came up to me outside the door, half-drunk, in that seventeen-year-old way.

Behind him was the expected semicircle of other half-drunk teenage boys and hangers-on, lending support to C.J.'s task.

It was not so much that I had yet to develop any real pacifist views, but I was where I was not supposed to be and C.J. could easily have won any fight with me, be he drunk or sober. I turned to what I could gather of my wits. As long as the conversation was going on, the fight would not start. I told them that I was only doing what Ms. Felton had told me to do.

"We all agreed not to talk to her," he said.

I denied knowledge of any such agreement. That began a nice diversion about where and when such a universal understanding had been reached, but I knew it would not last. The "smoking tree" had been the place. In 1965, the school had a "smoking tree," the officially designated place to smoke and the universal gathering spot. Apparently I had just not been there at the time "everyone" agreed on how to react to the invasion of our school by this lone girl. I did not defend my actions on any principle; that would not have worked. I repeated my innocent ignorance of the agreement as many times as I could, hoping that some adult from inside would appear. None did.

My efforts became weaker and weaker. Even in his alcohol-aided bravado, C.J. was beginning to see through my efforts. And his allies were not helping my cause.

Salvation often comes in unexpected packages. The older guys were not merely half-drunk like the kids; they often were really drunk. One came up as the crowd grew. He was not only drunk and mightily offended at a good southern boy talking to a black student, and, indeed, at there being a black student at a white school, he was also too drunk to actually follow the conversation. He thought it was C.J. who had committed the offense.

This virtually grown drunk man placed himself squarely in C.J.'s face, and commenced telling just what he thought of him and of his

kind and what a true beating was about to be visited upon him.

Now, it takes a considerable while to explain something to a drunk. If the drunk is mad, the task is complicated. And if those undertaking the explanation are not completely sober themselves, it further complicates the task.

By the time the assembled crowd got through to him, I was well out of harm's way.

I then understood why my parents did not think these dances were really the place they wanted their son. I also left with a story, my story of conflict arising out of school integration. A story with an element of danger, some humor, and a safe escape. And a story that did not put me in a bad light.

I'm sure she never knew the story. She left at the end of the calendar year, her tenant farmer father having been sent on his way by the landlord perhaps with community pressure, I don't know. She did not continue her experiment at her new home; she went to the black school. I had done nothing to make her task easier, nothing to relieve the loneliness of her days, nothing to acknowledge the brave undertaking. I just had this story.



Prisoner of the Month

By

Jane Kirkman Smith
(*& Katie Smillie*)

My sister has a strong sense of justice. I am very proud of her in this respect. So then it's no surprise that her daughter Katie finds herself appropriately outraged when the occasion calls for it. But one incident in the family history, Katie's jail record, deserves to be recorded in all its glory.

It was the summer of 1971 with all the craziness of those times. The politics, the racism, and the fashions all reflected the sense that rebellion and change was in the air. Fashions reflected this with the radical idea that women could go without bras and that casual flip-flops were as good as shoes, especially in the heat of Florida.

Well our Katie was excited to be leaving Sarasota, where she lived, to attend a conference in the North Carolina mountains of the Unitarian youth group called Liberal Religious Youth, of which she was a faithful member. Her college professor dad and volunteering mother arranged that Katie could get a ride to the mountains with two of the adults in her church who were going there on business, buying used furniture and antiques. And I wish I didn't need to mention it—but I

Jane Kirkman Smith, Greensboro, North Carolina, member of New Garden Meeting. Katie Smillie, Atlanta, Georgia, member of Atlanta Friends Meeting.

do—that of these two adults, one was a white man; the other was a black woman. Both were married, but not to each other. And though their purposes were varied, the idea of a trip to the mountains of North Carolina felt like a breath of fresh air to all three compared to the insufferable heat and humidity of Sarasota. So Katie was happy to make herself a “nest” in the covered bed of the company pickup where she could read or sleep as her mood dictated. So the three set out for North Carolina—just three ordinary people sharing transportation.

After the hot, dusty ride, the conference was cool, refreshing and interesting, and Katie found herself thrilled by it. Toward the end of the week the three took advantage of a chance to visit a former member of their Sarasota church who had had some personal problems but was now living nearby with her father. The three travelers were eager to visit with Sue again, knowing that she was having a hard time, depressed and lonely, and eager for friendly faces from Sarasota. So although it was fairly late in the day, into the pickup they went, Katie settling into her spot in the back of the Chevy for a restful nap.

Following Sue’s rather vague directions, they had gone only thirty minutes or so when the couple in the front of the truck became confused and realized they had made a navigational mistake. The thing to do, it seemed to the driver, was to turn around and set the course right. The driver made a U–turn in the middle of the fairly broad street, since there was nothing coming except one car away in the distance. However, the distant car, as it turned out, was a patrol car with “Sworn to Protect” emblazoned on its sides, from the little town of Spruce Pine. It quickly sounded its siren, zeroed in on the pickup, flashed its blue light and pulled alongside.

The next few minutes should have been routine, a license check, an offer of assistance, at the worst a traffic citation, but no, nothing so reasonable or mundane. The officer, assuming a stern demeanor, questioned them and demanded to know who they were, and what they were doing, and why was this young girl lying down in the back of the truck? In fact he not only wanted information, he wanted these sinister travelers to go with him down to the little combination jail and town hall so they could be better investigated. Being good law–

abiding citizens, they followed the one who was “Sworn to Protect” down to the police station where a well-attended meeting of some civic club was in session in the town hall part of the building.

Were they led directly into the police station? Not a chance. The policeman marched the three suspected criminals directly through the meeting of stony-faced middle-aged men. Katie realized the inappropriateness of the situation. Her reaction was to let her “ham nature” kick in. She felt all the eyes of that room full of men as the three were paraded through, and got into the spirit of the farce and waved to the crowd, turning to the right, then turning and waving to the left, thoroughly enjoying the moment. In return, she was met with hostile stares.

At the policemen’s desk, the contents of her purse were poured out upon the table. “What are these pills, young lady?” he asked.

Now Katie was passionately interested in everything medical and subsequently grew up to be a nurse-midwife, and she knew those pills were prescribed for legitimate medical purposes. She was outraged, and replied, “None of your business!”

After that the officer wouldn’t take the chance of questioning them in each other’s presence, so they were taken individually into a small room and quizzed about why they were in North Carolina, where they were going, and where they had been. And—just what drugs were they carrying!

When the detective mentioned that her parents would be called, Katie asked that she be allowed to talk to her mother first. She knew how distressed her mother would feel to hear that her daughter was being held by police and could not even talk to her. The detective assured her that if he contacted her mother, Katie would be able to talk to her first but then announced, “We’re booking all three of you on suspicion of narcotics and suspicion of immoral conduct.” However, no phone calls were allowed before the three were locked into cells.

“You can’t do that with no grounds,” they exclaimed. “Outrageous, absurd!” But their objections were drowned out by the clang! clang! clang!! of the large metal doors of the three jail cells where they found themselves.

“But can I have my shoes out of the truck?” Katie asked. But no shoes were sent for, and she was barefoot for the duration.

Katie was a bit shaken as those cold metal bars were closed and she was actually locked behind them in a cell, but gradually she looked around. In the corner was a rusty metal cot with one gray wool blanket. A grimy stained sink that once may have been white stood against the wall. But dominating the cell was a dirty, smelly toilet with no seat and no privacy. Everything was covered in dirt like the restrooms in an ill kept truck stop—only perhaps worse smelling.

Left alone, Katie became aware that fear had given way to indignation at the injustice of it all. And to be subjected to the filth of a jail cell seemed just too much. Thinking it through, she knew that she was—that they all were—as innocent as any three people could be. It began to sink in that the reason they were being held had everything to do with the fact that the adults were a white man and a black woman in 1971, and this was North Carolina, very much a part of the South. The more she thought about it the madder she became. She looked around, felt her bare feet on the miserable cell floor and decided on a strategy. When an officer came by to check out the catch of the day, she had decided on her strategy.

“If you will give me a can of scouring powder and something to scrub with I’ll clean up this mess.” The officer was surprised, but eventually reappeared with a grin and the requested items. The other officers really enjoyed this, a smarty teenager who was going to clean their jail for them! This was a first indeed.

The floor was first; she swept up everything she could. Next she tackled the rusted old sink with scrubbing powder until it began to change its color. Then she attacked the dreaded commode. She scrubbed and scrubbed, as the hours crawled by. Eventually, after the fixtures were as clean as they could be made to be, she began to wonder where her friends were being kept.

She began to hum some of the songs that she enjoyed so much at her conference. From nearby in the hall she heard an answering female voice and finally the male one. They began to sing together: “We Shall Overcome,” “If I Had A Hammer,” “Tell Me Why The Ivy

Twines,“ “Kumbaya”—the sixties lived again in 1971. Although they couldn’t see one another, they began to feel a triumphant unity in song.

But, unknown to them, phone calls had been made. The Sarasota police had first been called to see what they knew about this strange threesome. Then Katie’s mother had been awakened from a sound sleep to be told that her daughter was being held in the Spruce Pine jail on suspicion of dire things. This put her into full maternal protection–outrage mode. She insisted that they release the three people immediately, she called the Sarasota minister at the conference, and an attorney friend in Sarasota, to start things moving from both ends, since she had promised these policemen retribution through the full force of the law.

Finally when the phone calls, lack of police records, and assurances of conference officials confirmed to Spruce Pine authorities that their prisoners were indeed participants in the South–Eastern Conference of Liberal Youth, sponsored by the UU Fellowship, the officer in charge came to interrupt the singing and inform the prisoners of their release. Katie’s mother may have gotten across a few salient points about harassment and false arrest. From somewhere up the line, the jailer had been instructed—as Katie’s mother had suggested—to “Let My People Go”!

As he unlocked the three cells, in lieu of an apology perhaps, the jailer thanked Katie for making one cell in the whole jail spotlessly clean. Delighted to be free, Katie gave the jailer an impulsive hug.

With the passage of time, our family has embraced the whole story with a mixture of outrage, giggles, and no little pride. There is now common agreement that Katie *should* have been presented a plaque from the town of Spruce Pine naming her, at the very least, “Prisoner of the Month.”

Friends Historical Collection Annual Report 2004–2005

By

Gwendolyn Gosney Erickson

New endeavors and opportunities dominated the 2004–2005 year for the Friends Historical Collection. Proposals drafted in the fall resulted in approval for a new archives associate position to begin with the upcoming fiscal year. New chances to work with students came in the form of a course on the college's history and a student internship to assist with a grant-funded digitization project. Several major gifts, some financial and others in the form of new research materials, provide openings for future projects. In addition to our regular use by those working on genealogy, meeting histories, college history, and Quaker antislavery activities, researchers consulted with staff on a wide variety of topics ranging from early North Carolina Quaker textiles to the town of Guilford College.

Notable Events and Projects

The most notable financial gift was a generous donation by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society to establish a new fund in honor of retired librarian Carole Treadway. The North Carolina Friends Historical Society Fund is a permanent endowment fund with income restricted to the Friends Historical Collection. This gift will allow the Friends Historical Collection to pursue special projects beyond standard daily operations. Currently at \$46,000, it is hoped that the fund will grow to provide additional interest income for many years to come.

A continuing major financial need for the Friends Historical Collection is the provision for permanent staff funding. Last year the Guilford College Friends of the Library Board decided to dedicate their next fundraising drive to creating an endowment to support the Friends Historical Collection Librarian position. Several donations were added to the fund over the past year. Additional donations are needed to insure success of this effort and to guarantee it for the future. Major promotion and donation opportunities will occur in the upcoming year.

Last year's report shared the news of the Friends Historical Collection's receipt of a federal Library Services and Technology (LSTA) grant through the State Library of North Carolina and the North Carolina-Exploring Cultural Heritage Online (NC-ECHO) program. The equipment purchased with the grant included a scanner, software, and new computer monitors. This equipment is a wonderful asset. In addition to the grant's original intention of digitizing the John B. Crenshaw Papers, the presence of a scanner within the Friends Historical Collection allowed staff to respond more quickly to increasing image requests in-house. Senior history major Elizabeth Orcutt served as an intern and completed the actual digitizing of the Crenshaw letters. Beth also created a small exhibit about the papers in the display case at the entrance to the Friends Historical Collection research room.

The fall semester was busier than usual with the implementation of a new course taught by Gwen Erickson. "Guilford College, 1837-Present" fulfilled the college's general distribution requirement for a writing-intensive historical perspectives course. Both traditional age students and older students in the college's continuing education program enrolled. Students in the class learned about the history of their college within the context of Quakerism, United States history, and the history of higher education. Many expressed appreciation for the course and said that they encouraged others to take it should it be offered again. Documents from the college's archives and manuscript collections were used as primary resources and class visits to the Friends Historical Collection gave students additional opportunities to utilize archival materials. Each student completed a biography

paper about an individual significant to the college's history and a short research paper about a topic of interest.

Staff and Volunteers

After several years of involvement with the Friends Historical Collection as a student worker, and most recently as the North Carolina Yearly Meeting Archives Assistant, Rachel Miller departed in August for new adventures in Boston with a job at Harvard University. J. Timothy "Tim" Cole was hired and quickly took on the position's duties in time for the start of the school year. Tim brings his past archival work experiences at the Greensboro Historical Museum and Pfeiffer University as well as his knowledge as a reference librarian at Greensboro Public Library. In addition to his work processing incoming meetings records, Tim has enjoyed creating finding aids for several manuscript collections.

Regular tasks such as shelving, photocopying projects, and filing were handled by student employees. Student worker Katherine Oliver completed four years with the collection and graduated in May. Her willingness to persevere and maintain good attention to detail on long-term and often monotonous but necessary projects will be missed. Among her accomplishments over the past four years were the completion of several major data entry and photocopy projects. She was joined this year by first year Melissa Guilfoyle and senior Benjamin Gulley. John Davis served as the summer student assistant in 2004. Sonja Horne served as the summer student assistant in 2005.

Next year's annual report will include additional staff news with the hiring of a new archives associate in summer 2005. After several years of work and with the support of Guilford's academic dean and president, the Friends Historical Collection will finally begin to move towards necessary staffing levels. The archives associate will provide much needed staff support to handle processing tasks associated with the college's archives and records management program, to assist beginning researchers, and to manage routine office tasks which are beyond the ability of student workers. The addition of such a position will allow the Librarian to focus on other key tasks requiring professional knowledge, such as development of policies and procedures,

departmental administration of digitization projects, manuscript cataloging, and providing assistance to advanced researchers and Guilford students.

The volunteer program continues to provide essential staffing and friendly assistance in the research room. Several researchers wrote personal notes following their visit to express their appreciation for our docents' work. Longtime volunteer Ruth Maynard retired during the year, but not before she served as an interview subject for several students researching Guilford's history. While it is usually adequate, the docent roster is not as full as it has been in past years. New volunteers are being sought to fill occasional vacancies and to offer assistance should any current volunteers be unable to continue. Present and retired docents gathered at the annual appreciation luncheon in June and learned about the Mendenhall family and Jamestown, North Carolina from local researcher and author Mary Browning.

In addition to her duties as Friends Historical Collection Librarian and College Archivist, Gwen Erickson kept up her involvement with the Society of North Carolina Archivists as Vice President-President Elect and began her term as president in March. In her role as program chair, she planned and coordinated statewide meetings and workshops in Asheville and Fayetteville for the organization's fall and spring gatherings. She also attended the national Society of American Archivists for the first time in August 2004, which provided opportunities to attend several useful sessions and discuss common challenges with other college and denominational archivists. This involvement promotes the Friends Historical Collection to the larger archival community and has provided opportunities for informal collaboration with colleagues at other institutions.

Though no longer overall editor, Gwen stayed connected with *The Southern Friend: The Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society* by serving as book review editor and as a member of the editorial board. She contributed a review in the 2004 issue and also wrote a regular column in the historical society's quarterly newsletter. She continues to serve as *ex officio* to several committees of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society as well as commit-

tees of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM) and North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative), the Friends Center Steering Committee, and the Quaker Heritage Committee of the Guilford College Board of Trustees.

Research and Services

The public face of the Friends Historical Collection is the researchers who make use of the many wonderful resources. Once again visitors came from throughout the United States and beyond. Joseph Andugu, a Kenyan Friend, spent a morning in the collection and gathered information about Quaker record-keeping practices to share with Friends in Africa. Registered researchers visiting in person dropped by twenty-five percent this year and correspondence by postal mail continues to decline. However, inquiries received by e-mail increase every year. One possible explanation for the decrease of on-site use is that easy parking has become less available with increasing campus enrollment. The registered users are primarily members of the general public using the research room who are less familiar with campus and perhaps unwilling to walk the greater distances to more remote parking options. However, this is just speculation based on informal observations. Another factor is the rise in individuals doing their research over the Internet. Most researchers coming to the collection have already conducted their basic research online and now wish to delve deeper. Perhaps those who might have come for basic research in the past are limiting themselves to what is available online.

In addition to registered researchers, a number of Guilford students and others made use of the collection resources available in our Quaker stacks. This area is available whenever the building is open so researchers have access to publications relating to Quaker history and thought during evening and weekends. Circulation statistics for materials in this area borrowed with a college library card were down. There are no statistics to show how many materials are used within the room but not circulated. However, shelving indicates that researchers did make use of these materials. Classes on Quakerism visited and several students from two different United States history survey courses selected paper topics with resources in the collection.

Two unrelated research projects focused on Quaker textiles. One studied the weave of several of our late eighteenth and early nineteenth century textiles items and another looked at materials from the nineteenth century. The textiles in the Friends Historical Collection include clothing, blankets, quilts, and samplers. These are a valuable resource for researchers but additional documentation and methods for access are needed to facilitate better use of them. A digital camera was purchased in June to use for documenting textiles and artifacts. Gwen Erickson received additional training in May by attending a workshop on clothing conservation and storage at Roanoke College in Roanoke, Virginia.

A number of the manuscript collections were used during the year and several projects are worth mentioning. Mary Browning transcribed major portions of the Harriet Peck letters in the Peck Family Papers for publication in the 2004 issue of *The Southern Friend*. Two Guilford students working on unrelated projects studied the Mary Mendenhall Hobbs papers for information about women's rights and suffrage. A number of smaller collections were used by students to learn about student life in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

As mentioned above, a significant amount of research service is provided through correspondence. Though in-depth research is not done for individuals, many basic inquiries are answered and a number of those involve staff time checking resources and providing suggestions. More extensive assistance was given for two projects in progress. Gwen Erickson served as an exhibit narrative advisor for the Museum of the Albemarle in Elizabeth City, North Carolina, as they design a new permanent exhibit which includes the Quaker presence and influence on northeastern North Carolina. Gwen also served as a reader for a forthcoming work on African Americans and Quakerism by Vanessa Julye and Donna McDaniel.

In addition to services completed on site, staff shared with community members at events away from Guilford. Gwen Erickson provided information about the Friends Historical Collection to the Friends Homes Library Volunteers at their annual luncheon in May. She also served as the speaker for the Greensboro Historical Museum

Guild with an overview of North Carolina Quaker history with specific examples about the New Garden Quaker community in Guilford County. Speaking engagements to several genealogical societies are already planned for next year.

Acquisitions and Collection Development

In addition to regular purchases of new Quaker publications, gifts assisted in filling gaps and replacing worn copies. Hugh Barbour offered selections from his voluminous library and donated a number of valuable rare books this spring. Income from the Clyde and Ernestine Milner Fund allowed for the acquisition of meeting records on microfilm from Pennsylvania. These were purchased from the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College in a continuing effort to provide convenient access to Quaker records with North Carolina connections. Microfilm of several rare Quaker periodicals was purchased from the Quaker Collection at Haverford College. This included several titles with direct North Carolina connections that we already had but were too fragile to be handled in their paper form.

A number of major collections created by Guilford alumni were given in the past year. The writings and photographs of Ruth Outland Maris during her time as a teacher at the Friends School in Ramallah, Palestine during the 1930s add to other materials relating to North Carolina Quaker ties to the school. Another significant Guilford College related collection was additions received to the Charles Hendricks Collection from his estate. Charlie's entire adult life was directly tied to Guilford College. Even though Charlie did not create letters and other written documents, he did save photographs relating to his Quaker family and his Guilford family.

The personal papers of J. Floyd "Pete" Moore, many of which have been stored in the Friends Historical Collection in anticipation of eventual inclusion in the collection, were formally given in March. Some portions came in earlier gifts and these materials will be added to create a very large and significant collection. Through the many personal ties and experiences of Pete and his wife, Lucretia, this collection documents Guilford College, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, and Quaker work internationally, including the Friends School at

Ramallah and the 1967 Friends World Conference. Portions of the collection received in past years were used this year by researchers seeking information about the history of Friends Homes, Inc. retirement community and international students at Guilford.

An exciting and unexpected gift was the acquisition of the Grace Taylor Rodenbough Papers, which were donated in May by her stepson Charles Rodenbough. She was a Guilford graduate and granddaughter of Quaker minister Mary Pemberton Moon. Her papers complement those of her mother, Nellie Moon Taylor, which we already had, and provide a significant resource on women and North Carolina politics in the mid-twentieth century. Rodenbough served in the North Carolina State Legislature from 1953 to 1965 and was an early advocate for women's rights in state politics.

Of course materials must be processed and cataloged for researchers to effectively make use of these holdings. Progress is slow on this front and a concentrated effort on documenting our backlogs is planned for 2005–2006. Books and other published materials are cataloged by Hege Library's Technical Services Librarian. While the high priority new materials cataloging was completed, the serials project and cataloging of backlog materials was not done this past year, because other library tasks required her attention. Several long-held manuscript collections previously having minimal processing were fully processed for the first time. Significant work has been done on the incoming Rodenbough Papers and the Moore Papers.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting Archives

Minutes and records were received from twenty-five different meetings, including twenty-one meetings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Friends United Meeting), three of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative), and one of Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting and Association. Additions were also received from the yearly meetings themselves and Piedmont Friends Fellowship. Efforts persist in encouraging timely deposits from the various meetings and to locate items that may fill gaps from earlier years. Regular reports were made to the records committees and both North Carolina Yearly Meetings. Direct correspondence was also done with individuals

from several meetings as they attempted to locate needed records in their communities. Photocopy projects were completed for Pilot View and Oak Hill meetings to help preserve their records in the archives while still enabling local consultation. Meeting history research was done by Archdale, Cedar Square, Deep River, and Oak Hills meetings.

A number of older North Carolina monthly meeting records were identified for a preservation–microfilming project funded by the Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records, and work on this project will carry on. Microfilm remains the best format for preserving fragile records and allowing researcher access since the film itself is more stable than digital media. Some records were filmed several decades ago but the film was not truly of archival quality. The micrographics unit at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill is doing the filming to meet professional standards and produces preservation masters as well as a copy master and use copy. These new reels will make researching Quaker records much easier with clear legible microfilm to consult. The microfilm is currently limited to use in the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College and is not available for interlibrary loan. There is a possibility that some will become available at other Quaker libraries in the future to provide access to researchers in other regions outside of North Carolina.

Guilford College Archives

The records management program was essentially put on hold this year due to lack of available staff. Implementation will wait until the hiring of an archives associate to work with this new program. In the meantime, reference questions and research requests continue to be handled on a limited basis, and informal consultations are provided to campus offices to prepare for a more formal program. Obviously, this is an area needing attention since the college archives of the future are dependent upon close collaboration with the records currently held in various campus offices.

Requests for information from college archives increased significantly. Both in–person and e–mail requests relating to college archives doubled since last year. The college archives portion of the

collection is expected to continue to increase in size and in research demand. College staff used archival materials to document facts and figures from the past in preparation for the college's upcoming accreditation review by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Consultants working on the new campus master plan reviewed images of campus buildings and historic aerial photographs. Several graduate students taking a library history course at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro researched Hege Library and the Friends Historical Collection as their term paper topic. A Davidson College student researched the integration of North Carolina's private colleges and several Guilford students also considered this topic. It appeared that there were a greater number of inquiries about alumni of New Garden Boarding School and Guilford College. Of course, students used the archives extensively for the history of the college course and for several other research projects. The new archives associate will be a vital part of providing staff support for this growing component of the Friends Historical Collection.

**Deposits from North Carolina Yearly Meeting
(Friends United Meeting)**

<u>Meeting Name</u>	<u>Deposit</u>
Caraway (P)	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2004.
Cedar Square	Monthly Meeting Clerk's Notes, 1940–1953.
Chatham	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2002; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 2002.
Concord	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2/1995–1/2003.
Deep River	Deep River Friends Oral History Collection.
Edward Hill	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2004.
Forbush	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2003–2004.
Greensboro	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2004.
Hood Swamp	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7/1996–1/2005.
Mount Carmel	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 6/1959–2000.
Nahunta	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2002–2004.
New Garden	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2003 4/2005; 2001 Middle School Young Friends' Quaker Stories Project.
Pilot View	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2004; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 2004.
Pine Hill	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2002 and 2004 (except for 12/2004).
Science Hill	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7/2003–6/2004; Ministry and Counse Minutes, 7/2003–6/2004; Quaker Ladies Meeting Minutes, 1/2004–12/2004.
Somerton	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 6/1996–1/1997, 2004; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 2004.
Union Cross	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2004.
White Plains	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 4/2003–5/2004.
Winston–Salem	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 4/2004–3/2005.
Winthrop	Monthly Meeting Minutes and attachments, 2004; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 1/1997–12/2004.
Southern Quarter	Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 2/1975–11/1978, 11/1995–11/2002, and 2004.

NCYM (FUM) Meeting Newsletters received in 2004–2005:

Charlotte	Greensboro	Up River
Deep Creek	New Garden	Winston–Salem

**Deposits from North Carolina Yearly Meeting
(Conservative)**

Meeting Name

Deposit

Fayetteville	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 8/2000, 9/2000, 11/2000, 12/2000, 7/2003 – 6/2004.
Friendship	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 5/2002–6/2004.
Virginia Beach	Ministry and Oversight Minutes, 8/2003–6/2004.
NCYM (C)	Clerk's Papers, 1978–1984; Papers, 1986–1988.

NCYM (C) Meeting Newsletters received in 2004–2005:

Friendship	Virginia Beach	West Grove
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**Deposits from Southern Appalachian
Yearly Meeting and Association (SAYMA)**

Meeting Name

Deposit

Swannanoa	Monthly Meeting Minutes and Papers, 9/1996–12/2003.
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SAYMA Meeting Newsletters received in 2004–2005:

Berea	Charleston (WV)	Columbia
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Record Groups *

Record Group

Deposit

Guilford College Art Appreciation Club	Minutes, 11/2001–4/2003 and related papers and organizational guidelines; Annual Pro- gram booklets; Summaries, 2003– 2004 and 2004–2005; Photographs of Club Members.
Quaker House	Counseling Files, 9/2000–2/2002.

Record Groups (Cont.)

Record Group

Deposit

Piedmont Friends
Fellowship

Various minutes and papers, including establishing documents from 1968–1972 and Summary of Minutes, 1972–1993.

Springfield Memorial
Association

Springfield Memorial Day Program, 2004:
“The Third Meetinghouse, 1858–1927.”

* Regular annualized deposits of college publications and campus materials are not listed. However, any major deposits, such as those that start new record series or fill major gaps, are listed in the annual report.

Book Reviews

Mary Jane Boren Meeker. *Enterprising Spirit: The Borens of Guilford County, North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: Chapel Hill Press, 2004. Xiv + 119 pp. Foreword, acknowledgment, illustrations, oral history interview, family records, family tree, end notes, bibliography, and index. \$26.00.

Two young people stand at the foundation of a family's history, both of whom are crucial to understanding the experience of the Boren family of Guilford County, North Carolina. One is a teenager named Addison, just fourteen when in 1836 his family leaves him behind when they move from New Garden to Indiana. "Addison, this is all I have to give thee," his father Benjamin is said to have told his son as he handed the youngster a claw hammer, encouraging him. "Take it and make thy future." More than a hundred years later, a thirteen-year-old named Mary Jane looks across a crowded room filled with well over one hundred relatives and asks her father, "Daddy, how will I ever know who all these cousins are?" John Boren encouraged his daughter to take up a pencil and begin writing. One could say that she kept writing over the next forty-odd years, with the result that an admirable family history sheds light on Quaker history and the Boren family's role in Greensboro's history.

The first portion of Meeker's study holds familiar themes as chapters two through five trace generations of Borens and Beesons, and to a lesser degree, Grubbs and Knights. Patriarch Elijah Boren, along with two brothers, was a part of the Nantucket migration to Piedmont North Carolina, arriving around 1775. His son, Benjamin, joined in a second migration west to Indiana, a move made by many

Quaker families in search of cheap land and life in a community untainted by slavery. Meeker's extensive research includes delightful connections between generations, such as a 1917 letter from Benjamin's grandson. "I have often heard my father say his forefathers were 'Nantucket dog eaters,'" William C. Boren, better known as W.C., writes, noting that the term confused him until he learned from an "old sea captain" that "the natives of Nantucket ate...dog fish and in that way got the name of 'dog eaters.'" (32) W.C. Boren's grandmother Phoebe Beeson was born in North Carolina. Her family represents another pattern of Quaker migration, one that begins in Lancaster, England, to New Castle, Delaware, then Chester County, Pennsylvania, west to near present-day Winchester, Virginia, and eventually south to New Garden. Every move in search of opportunity means leaving loved ones behind, as poignantly evidenced by the 1758 correspondence between sisters Charity Beeson and Phebe Beeson Hadley. "I desire the[e] to remember oure kind Loves to all oure neare Relations and friends," Charity writes from the Piedmont, and "to let me know what is become of Peter Grubb's widow." Replying four months later from West Chester, Phebe urges her sister to "not Neglect Writing to me as often as Possible and the circumstance of Your Affairs and Condition if you Please, Concerning these Troubolsome times." (20-22) Those troubles to which she referred are the violent encounters between white immigrants and Native Americans. Not quite one hundred years passed after the sisters' correspondence when yet another generation faced separation.

Meeker does a superb job of trying to untangle why Addison Pinckney Boren chose to stay in North Carolina as his family left for Indiana. It seems his opportunity was found in New Garden as an apprentice to family friend Elihu Coffin, who had a successful farm and foundry. Addison made the most of his apprenticeship, and Meeker uses local histories, business advertisements, and personal testimonies to describe Addison's expertise as a farmer, mechanic, entrepreneur, and businessman. The young boy who helped build Founders Hall was unable to attend himself; yet he possessed an intellect and abilities that carries through the generations. "His independent streak, his enterprising spirit, his mechanical skills, and his foundry know-how," writes the author and great-granddaughter,

“formed the roots of the Boren family’s success making sewer pipe, brick, and firebrick.” (39)

When Addison chose a bride in 1852, he married Mary Jane Smith, a Methodist from a prosperous family in adjacent Rockingham County. The couple’s experience during the Civil War illustrates the complex intersections of religion, politics, and race. When Addison faced the draft in 1864, he avoided service by traveling to Indiana to live with his parents. Perhaps, as the author suggests, he left because he followed Quaker teachings about pacifism. However, one cannot make similar assumptions about his beliefs about slavery. His wife had brought slaves into the household after their marriage, and when Boren left for Indiana, he asked one of those slaves, Ike Smith, to remain behind to look after his wife and children. According to Meeker, after the war Mary Jane’s brother gave Smith “a gift of land” and Smith moved to Richmond, Indiana, where he later received a visit from Guilford College president Lyndon Hobbs. (49)

The reader strongly senses what a privilege it was to receive a formal education in the nineteenth century. Addison and Mary Jane Boren sent many of their children to New Garden Boarding School for brief periods; it is only the youngest, Cecil, who completed his studies and became the family’s first college graduate in 1895. Cecil and his brothers take the family’s story into a direction of particular interest for those living in the Greensboro area. Their “enterprising spirit” led them to success in a number of local businesses, including Lindley Nursery Company, Pomona Terra Cotta Company, Carolina Steel, Guilford Dairy Cooperative, Boren Clay Products, and North State Prophylite. This generation also served the community as public officials and as volunteers for their church, civic groups, and educational institutions.

The author describes the many contributions of Addison’s female forebears and descendants, who shape meaningful lives both near and far away from their origins, care for children during peacetime and war, support their churches and civic organizations, and nurture family connections through words and deeds. A delightful oral history interview with cousin Helen Kiser illustrates how an appreciation of heritage has been a trait of many Boren generations.

Addison's sons, and one of three daughters, remain in Guilford County, meaning that by the 1950s, "a Boren seldom went shopping downtown or stopped by a filling station" without seeing one of the nearly one hundred cousins who lived nearby. (114) As a grade-schooler the author looked forward to Sunday afternoon visits at her grandparents' house, where she rocked on the front porch swing and listened to her relatives chat. And then there were those times she gazed at photographs of Addison and Mary Jane Boren, when she imagined "talking with her...to discover what she was like and how it would have been to live a hundred years before." (119)

Readers will be glad that the author never lost her curiosity, for her published family history illuminates much that has passed through generations: kinship networks and the entrepreneurial spirit on the farm and in the factory, the complexity of slavery and its echoes for today's generations, and the value of preserving one family's history. Part of the challenge of *Enterprising Spirit* to those not familiar with the Beeson-Boren genealogy is unraveling the connections between generations, which stretch over three centuries. Even with the aid of detailed charts, the task can prove daunting; however, the rewards make the effort worthwhile. In 1917 W.C. Boren wrote to an Arkansas cousin, "You seem to want to know what I have been trying to find out for a number of years, but I find very little history of the Boren family" (156). Not so, Mr. Boren, thanks to your great-niece Mary Jane.

Linda Evans

Greensboro Historical Museum

Richard N. Cote. *Strength and Honor: The Life of Dolley Madison*. Mt. Pleasant, S.C.: Corinthian Books, 2005. Xix + 444 pp. Illustrations, bibliographical references, and index. \$29.95.

Toward the end of this biography there is a daguerreotype photograph taken in "1846 or 1847" which has Dolley Madison standing alongside President James Knox Polk and eight other people. It has the familiar nature of a family snapshot. Presumably it was taken at the White House where Dolley had lived until it was burned by the British in 1812. It is clearly one of the more interesting photographs from the early period of American photography. It must have been a remarkable occasion for Dolley to be in a group picture being taken outside the White House with the President of the United States. One can only imagine what her thoughts were at the moment. The city had changed mightily, but she was back in Washington, the scene of many of her adventures and memories—and where she had last seen the White House in ashes.

By the time the photo was taken Dolley had literally seen it all and now there was photography to record events and memories. Think about what she had seen—the birth of a nation, the struggle for independence, the coming of a new millennium, her eight years as First Lady, a second war with Great Britain. By the 1840s she was the doyenne of the American republic. When the picture was taken America had invaded Mexico and was about to strip that country of half of its territory in order to fulfill the concept of Manifest Destiny. Dolley knew about the workings of American nationalism, but she would never know that more children's books would be written about her life than any other first lady in history. She wore her honors easily and was certainly deserving of an invitation to James K. Polk's

White House, a place to which she had given style, managerial competence, and a good dose of love. It was at the White House that she had become the American Heroine of the War of 1812 when she saved a number of national treasures from the invading British. In the period that followed she continued to serve as a devoted partner to her husband during his remaining years of public service. Alas! She would lose him in 1836, but would continue to serve the nation in various ways until her death in 1849.

Most of this is common knowledge to Americans. Nevertheless it is important that Richard Cote has reenergized our memory of Dolley Madison and placed her firmly in the context of her times in this well-illustrated, and carefully researched volume. Cote's job was no easy task, since the sources are scattered and a vast web of folklore entangles the subject. Among other things, he settles the question of the spelling of Dolley's first name, untangles the details of her first marriage along with its complicated and complex family relations. He explains the details of her being read out of her Quaker Meeting for marrying outside the faith. Without any rancor she simply became an Episcopalian. These things happened in a different age from ours, but the details are significant as Cote develops and presents his conclusions with solid evidence in clearly written prose.

More importantly, this is the biography of a highly intelligent woman who literally grew up with America and helped to create its character. Her origins were humble—on a farm in Guilford County, North Carolina, and later living on one in Virginia. But if there was any disadvantage to this she readily overcame it and went on to positions of prominence if not power.

Many Americans want to know about the lives of first ladies, but not all of them are as vital and interesting as Dolley Madison. Only a few, such as Abigail Adams, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Hillary Clinton, are in Dolley's category. Unfortunately, some are complicated case studies in tragedy such as Mary Todd Lincoln or Ida McKinley. Most are ignored, if not forgotten, while others are briefly noted for their idiosyncrasies, i.e. "Lemonade Lucy" Hayes. Thus, it is good to have an adequate biography of Dolley Madison as evidence of her contribu-

tions to the life of the early republic along with the added benefit of a description of the difficulties of everyday life in early nineteenth century America even for people at the centers of power.

Alex Stoesen

Guilford College, Emeritus

Mike Heller, editor. *The Tendering Presence: Essays on John Woolman*. Wallingford, Penn.: Pendle Hill Publications, 2003. Softbound, xviii + 340 pp. \$21.00.

This collection of essays is a wonderful addition to the scholarship on John Woolman. It is in honor of Sterling Olmsted and Philips P. Moulton, two scholars whose work has contributed most to our understanding of Woolman. Editor Mike Heller tells us that “the purpose of this essay collection is to deepen our understanding of John Woolman’s writings and their implications, particularly as they affect our common humanity.” He goes on to explain that “the belief underlying these essays is that there is no reason why reading Woolman sensitively should prevent us from asking hard questions, as indeed Woolman did.” (xi) The essayists do not shy away from discussing those things that “inspire” us about Woolman’s faith, as well as what makes us “uncomfortable.” (1)

The volume takes an interdisciplinary approach to exploring the spiritual substance of Woolman’s life and works; and the collective resumé of the scholars who have contributed to it is impressive. They are active authors and educators; some are social activists; and many, though not all, are Friends. The discipline most frequently represented in the twenty essays is English literature, but other areas include history, peace studies, religion, communications, economics, and sociology.

While the themes of the individual essays are too numerous to mention here, the four sections into which the essays are grouped describe the general topics: “John Woolman’s Spirituality,” “Literary, Historical, and Economic Contexts,” “Issues of Oppression, Social Change, and Education,” and “Scholars Who Became Disciples.” There

are new interpretations of the themes one might expect to see associated with him: spirituality, ethics, blacks, Indians, and the poor. But the authors' hard questions lead them to explore a variety of other areas, such as death, selfhood, dissent, rationalism, pedagogy, language, and sympathy. Many of the essays contextualize Woolman in his time period and analyze his significance beyond the Society of Friends. For example, Gerald W. Sazana gives us an ethical and economic analysis of his thought and compares it with economics taught in contemporary American higher education; J. William Frost shows how his thought fit with and was influenced by Enlightenment philosophy; and Susan Dean discusses Woolman's place in multicultural studies.

As diverse as these essays are, all celebrate Woolman serving as a model of faith lived in his time and ours. As Philips P. Moulton himself concludes, "As one who embodied in his personal life the ideas and principles by which he judged contemporary mores, he provides us with a superb example of the Quaker contribution to human betterment." (319) These essays are useful and accessible to all—teachers, scholars, seekers, as well as Friends who would like to connect with their faith on a deeper level.

Jane E. Calvert
St. Mary's College of Maryland

Announcement

Submissions Sought for Herbert L. Poole Award

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The Southern Friend

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

VOLUME XXVII

2005

NUMBER 2

*The Cross of Plainness:
A Century of Conservative Quakerism
in North Carolina*

BY DAMON D. HICKEY

BOOK REVIEW

*Night Journeys: The Power of Dreams in
Transatlantic Quaker Culture*

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The Southern Friend

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

The purpose of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society is to collect, preserve, and publish valuable information relative to the history of the Society of Friends in North Carolina and adjacent territories.

The Southern Friend is published annually by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Members of the society receive the journal without charge. There is a new dues schedule for 2006: individual or library membership is \$30; family membership is \$50; sustaining membership is \$75; Quaker history patron membership is \$150; life membership is \$500. Back issues may be purchased. Prices vary according to specific issue and range from \$2.50 (single back issues) to \$10 (recent double issues).

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"Friends' Meeting House at New Garden, North Carolina, 1869. Erected in 1791." Lithograph by John Collins. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

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Dedicated to
George Parker,
1912–2005,
founding member and director emeritus
of the
North Carolina Friends Historical Society

The Southern Friend

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2005

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Introduction

In 1904 several members of North Carolina Yearly Meeting held what was to be the first annual session of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative). Thereby hangs a tale. Why was that gathering held? How did the Conservative yearly meeting develop from that first gathering? What were its distinguishing characteristics? In view of the recent centennial of the body that gathered in 1904, it seems appropriate to publish Damon Hickey's consideration of those questions under the title "The Cross of Plainness: A Century of Conservative Quakerism in North Carolina."

In this work, Damon Hickey focuses on one of the constituent monthly meetings whose particular history and characteristics highlight the reasons for the existence of the new yearly meeting. The work also shows how it was different from other monthly meetings in the same yearly meeting.

That history and those characteristics also provide a base for a broader study of twentieth century Quakerism as the heir of the Quaker culture that emerged in the eighteenth century Quakerism and of nineteenth century Wilburite Quakerism. He concludes with a look at where North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) stands in the present century in relation to that culture. Here he sees that much has changed, especially in the outward manifestations of it, and also that the distinctive spirit of the early Conservative North Carolina Friends survives in a way that allows more openness to others and greater freedom of expression.

Carole E. Treadway



*First session of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative), 1904, at Woodland.
North Carolina Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.*

The Cross of Plainness: A Century of Conservative Quakerism in North Carolina

By

Damon D. Hickey

Throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, liberal Christians, including liberal Friends, have clung to a belief in the inevitability of “progress.” Along with technological and social progress would come religious progress, in which the differences and conflicts between religious groups would melt away, and an era of universal brotherhood would replace them. The ideal of America as a cultural melting pot in which racial, ethnic, and religious particulars would be assimilated, was one expression of this liberal vision. The persistence

Damon D. Hickey's name will be very familiar to readers of this journal. He served on the original board of directors of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society and as editor of *The Southern Friend* for a time. He holds degrees in philosophy, divinity, and library science, and a Ph.D. in history from the University of South Carolina, where his dissertation was on Quakers of the New South. That was the groundwork for his book *Sojourners No More: The Quakers in the New South, 1865–1920*, published in 1997 by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society and the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends (FUM). Dr. Hickey was an associate library director at Guilford College, curator of the Friends Historical Collection, and taught Quaker history. Since 1991 he has been director of libraries at College of Wooster, in Ohio.

of ethnic and religious conflict in both American society and the world at large, and the resurgence of sometimes militant “fundamentalist” movements within Christianity and other religions, have called this assimilationist vision into question. Far from becoming more like one another, many groups of believers have been willing to fight and die to witness to their distinctive visions of the truth. The fastest growing religious movements today are the least “liberal.”

Due to their small numbers and peaceful ways, Quakers’ divisions have never been front-page news. Just over a century ago, in 1903, North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends underwent its first and only division.¹ Alone among the earliest American yearly meetings, NCYM had avoided the schisms of early nineteenth century American Quakerism, first by siding with the Orthodox party against the Hicksites, and then with the Gurneyite Orthodox against the Wilburite Orthodox (despite strong Wilburite sympathies within the yearly meeting). Even the coming of Holiness revivalism to post Civil War Quakerism, which produced divisions within Gurneyite meetings elsewhere, failed to produce an immediate split in late nineteenth century North Carolina.

But small and late as it was, the division of North Carolina Friends is worthy of study. Why was being different—bearing the “cross” of “plainness”—so important to this small body of traditionalist Friends? How successful were they, and who and what are they today?

After the Civil War, North Carolina Friends had become diminished in numbers to the point of near extinction. Quaker leaders throughout the nation embarked upon an ambitious campaign to reinvigorate and rebuild North Carolina Quakerism. Principally through the agency of the Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States, they provided leadership and funding to organize schools, construct new meeting houses, evangelize, and teach progressive farming. Equally important, they tried to instill organizational values and practices familiar to American business, leading eventually to the establishment of a national Quaker denomination, the Five Years Meeting (now the Friends United Meeting) and the adoption of a Uniform Discipline for its constituent yearly meetings.²

Historian Thomas Hamm calls the group that rebuilt North Carolina Quakerism the renewal movement. According to Hamm, these Friends “saw themselves firmly within Quaker tradition.” But they also saw a need to redefine that tradition. Specifically, they sought

...to modify the plain life, to loosen the rules on marriage, to encourage more participation in meetings while maintaining their traditional character, and to work with other denominations while preserving the distinctiveness of Friends.³

Overlapping the renewal movement was what Hamm calls the revival movement. Although a few Friends, such as Allen Jay, could claim leadership in both, the revivalists had a more radical program. According to Hamm, they wanted

...to smash the plain life and the assumptions behind it, to sweep away the marriage regulations as unchristian, to demand participation in meetings instead of encouraging it, to dismiss silence completely, and to use whatever methods produced converts regardless of their origins or effect. Most revivalists had little use for renewal or humanitarianism; for the concept of Quaker distinctiveness, they had none.⁴

The renewal movement found itself trying simultaneously to consolidate the gains of revivalism and to limit its excesses.

Traditionalist, conservative friends were particularly threatened by the revival movement, both because it challenged everything that was traditionally Quaker and because it proved all too attractive to many traditional Friends. Wilmer A. Cooper, who grew up as a “plain” Ohio Friend, has written of his own family’s fascination and flirtation with Holiness revivalism, which was so different from their sheltered life and which offered avenues of emotional release not available in traditional Quakerism.⁵

For decades, traditionalists, renewalists, and revivalists coexisted within North Carolina Yearly Meeting. What finally brought about a parting of the ways was not so much the revival movement itself, which according to Hamm peaked about 1880, but the renewal movement’s subsequent efforts to bring it under control. Many conservative Friends, seeing the revival movement as dangerous, regarded the renewal movement’s willingness to modify and moderate

Friends' practices—particularly to surrender its outward marks of distinctiveness, the “plain” dress and speech—as wrongheaded. And the renewal movement's willingness to impose some degree of central organizational control over the ministry—in order to bring revivalist preachers under control—seemed equally wrongheaded because it threatened the authority of the local meeting.⁶

In his book on Quaker divisions, sociologist David Holden suggests that these schisms resulted from a process over a period of time.⁷ According to Holden,

...the creation of a large division first requires the creation, definition, and persecution of heresy. With that as a basis a division can come about when

- a. Several socially important issues coalesce with the heresy; (the larger the number of issues, the bigger will be the size of the separating group);
- b. two groups of people who take opposite sides on the heresy and the issues;
- c. a period of time long enough to allow links between opposing groups to become less important than the links within the groups;
- d. the introduction of a new issue that also divides the groups; and
- e. a concerted effort to justify and obtain support from Friends who were not present during the time of the break.

Holden's paradigm may be helpful in understanding the division among North Carolina Friends. The initial “heresy,” for conservative Friends, was the introduction of revival-style worship among Friends. It was compounded by the coalescence of other issues (letter a. above), including adoption of the “outward sacraments” by David Updegraff and other Holiness revival movement Friends in Ohio and the introduction of a system of paid ministers—“hireling priests,” according to the conservatives—in other yearly meetings. Not two but three opposing groups (conservatives, renewalists, and revivalists, with some overlap among them) formed. Following a period of thirty years during which old ties within the yearly meeting loosened and new ones with groups outside the yearly meeting formed (letter c.), the final straw (the “new issue” in letter d.) was the adoption of the

Uniform Discipline by NCYM, giving the yearly meeting control over the ministry and paving the way for the eventual establishment of a “pastoral system” of paid ministers in North Carolina.

Among American yearly meetings, North Carolina was a special case in at least three respects. It had never experienced a division, although it had come close in the early nineteenth century.⁸ It had suffered severe financial loss and loss of members before, during, and after the Civil War. And it was the only yearly meeting where renewal Friends, under the leadership of the Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States, deliberately encouraged revivals, rather than merely trying to moderate their influence, in order to rebuild southern Quakerism following the war.⁹ The association’s principal agent, Allen Jay, was among the few Quaker revivalists sensitive to the scruples of more traditional Friends. One legacy of the Baltimore Association was a considerable body of renewal movement Friends in North Carolina who succeeded for a generation in maintaining the peace between the more extreme members of the revivalist movement and the conservatives.

Throughout the late nineteenth century, with one temporary exception, NCYM allowed the conservative Friends in eastern North Carolina to exempt themselves from assessments to support the yearly meeting’s evangelistic work, thereby allowing them to participate in good conscience in other ways. But it is clear that their opposition to evangelism and the possibility of employing settled ministers to consolidate the gains of evangelistic campaigns hampered the growth of the yearly meeting. David Holden has shown that the division among North Carolina Friends was not sparked by an influx of large numbers of converts from revival meetings in the late nineteenth century, as earlier Quaker historians had thought. To the contrary, despite initial gains under the leadership of Allen Jay, leading to a yearly meeting of five thousand in 1873, membership remained at or only slightly above that figure until after the division, when it increased rapidly once again.¹⁰ In other words, the lack of growth in the membership of North Carolina Friends between 1873 and 1903 may have helped to precipitate division by making the non-conservatives less tolerant of the conservatives’ scruples.

Trust among the various groups was also strained by the formation of ties with groups outside the yearly meeting and, equally important, by the suspicions that these ties aroused in other groups. Not only did the ties binding North Carolina conservatives, renewalists, and revivalists loosen between the end of the Civil War and the division. The ties binding North Carolina conservatives with conservative Friends outside of North Carolina, especially in Philadelphia, grew stronger. North Carolina renewalists made common cause with those of a similar mind on a national scale. Revivalists from other states made regular visits to North Carolina to conduct evangelistic meetings and developed a strong following within the state.

Although the “new issue” that precipitated the division may have been NCYM’s adoption of the Uniform Discipline, division might still have been avoided had the yearly meeting acceded to the request by conservative Friends in the eastern part of the state to continue to use the old book of discipline. Looking at the near stagnation of membership statistics for thirty years as a result of the conservatives’ scruples about evangelism, it is not hard to see why the yearly meeting of 1903 (from which these conservative friends seem to have been absent) turned them down, deciding that enough was enough and sending a committee east to bring them into conformity—a decision they must have known would result in division. Thus, North Carolina Friends seem to have experienced the ecclesiastical equivalent of an “amicable divorce,” in which both parties agree that “irreconcilable differences” exist and that it would be better for both to go their separate ways. In fact, once the division had taken place, the committee sent by the yearly meeting and the newly separated conservatives sat down to enjoy a meal together!¹¹

If matters had remained thus, it would have amounted to little more than the withdrawal of a small body of Friends. They might have persisted for awhile, dwindled in numbers, and eventually disappeared. That, at least, is what the larger body’s leaders probably expected. They did not reckon with letter e. in David Holden’s paradigm of Quaker divisions: “a concerted effort to justify and obtain support from Friends who were not present during the time of the break.”

Benjamin Brown and Henry Outland, leading ministers of the conservative group and members of Rich Square Monthly Meeting (the heart of conservative North Carolina Quakerism), pursued their own brand of evangelism, spreading the conservative message to other meetings in eastern North Carolina. As a result two new conservative monthly meetings were added: Piney Woods in 1904 and Oak Grove in 1905. Together, they formed a conservative Eastern Quarterly Meeting. A conservative NCYM was also established and held its first meeting in 1904. But it was the conservative gains in the North Carolina piedmont that rankled most with the leaders of the larger body.

Brown and Outland's efforts "to justify and obtain support from Friends who were not present during the time of the break" (Holden's words) resulted in the formation of three new meetings in the piedmont: Marlboro in 1906, Holly Spring in 1910, and West Grove in 1915. Collectively they were to form a new Southern Quarterly Meeting. Not content merely to carry on traditional Quakerism, Southern Quarter Friends, especially those at Holly Spring, became something of a paradox: a "guarded" community aggressively seeking to win converts.¹² The Holly Spring meeting and community had been settled in the late eighteenth century by Friends who were caught up immediately in the Regulator conflict, followed by the Revolution, after which they were embroiled in the struggle over slavery, climaxing in the Civil War. Holly Spring Friends had, therefore, experienced at first hand the sufferings of faithful Southern Friends, of which the conservatives were so proud.¹³

Few had suffered more than Thomas Hinshaw and his family. Born in 1831, he refused military conscription in 1862. Taken from his home and family by the Confederate militia, he, his two brothers-in-law, three other Friends, and about seventy non-Friends were carried off with the army. They refused, despite threats and violence, to participate in any military activity or to pay the five-hundred-dollar exemption tax. Four of them were eventually taken prisoner by Union forces after the battle of Gettysburg, but were released into the care of Delaware and Philadelphia Friends and made their way to Indiana. There they were joined by their families who made the six-hundred-

mile journey across the mountains, by wagon, in 1864.¹⁴ After the war, in 1865, the Hinshaws were among the few Friends to return to North Carolina.¹⁵

Revival meetings conducted at Holly Spring by “emotional extremists of the Holiness movement” have been described as a major factor contributing to the division of the meeting in 1910.¹⁶ Thomas Hinshaw, then seventy-nine, and his wife Mary Barker Hinshaw were among the leaders of the withdrawing, conservative group,¹⁷ which comprised thirty-six adult members, six of whom had withdrawn the previous year.¹⁸ Although the specific reasons for their decision are not known, it may safely be assumed that there was a link between the sufferings they had undergone in order to remain faithful to the Quaker Peace Testimony and their loyalty to other Quaker principles in regard to worship and the ministry. In fact the “hireling ministry” had been seen by Civil-War-era Friends as one of the causes of the war.¹⁹

But on a deeper level a connection was being made between the sufferings of the early Friends, the sufferings of southern Friends, and the sufferings of conservative Friends. The common thread was seen to be faithful obedience to the promptings of the Inward Christ, resulting in some form of social ostracism, if not outright persecution. This connection was clear in the organizing principles of the conservative Holly Spring Monthly Meeting. The minutes state, in language similar to the yearly meeting’s, that the monthly meeting was being established

Under a sense of the love of God and a deep concern that Friends in this part of our land who are spiritually oppressed by the many changes that have taken place in the Society of Friends at large and who desire to uphold and maintain the doctrines and practices of the Christian religion in accordance with Early Friends may be free to do so. We very much desire individual faithfulness to that waiting spiritual worship wherein direct communion with the Father and with the Son, through the Holy Spirit is to be known and a fresh anointing given by him for every work and service in his Church, whether it be in preaching, prayer or praise. We therefore plead for liberty of conscience in individual believers for which our Early Friends suffered severe persecution and even martyrdom and which has been of such great blessing to humanity.²⁰

So painful still were the memories of the Holly Spring division nearly seventy years later that the Hinshaws' grandson, the late Seth B. Hinshaw (himself a leader of the larger NCYM), made no mention of it in his 1982 biography of his grandparents.²¹

The new meeting was encouraged by communications from Fritchley conservative Friends in England and from Benjamin Brown of Rich Square. Anderson M. Barker, the first to have made the break, was chosen clerk, a position he was to hold for the next fifteen years.

The meeting initially worshiped in the old meeting house, but the other Friends specified that the hours of the two groups must not coincide, so that the conservatives (who, on principle, considered all hours equally holy) met for worship at two o'clock on First day (Sunday) afternoons.²²

But the temporary arrangements for worship were proving unsatisfactory, and a committee was formed to inquire among the members about building a separate meeting house.²³ When all were in at least tacit agreement, they approached the trustees of the Charleston Fund, which provided aid in the construction of new meeting houses. Apparently the application was not approved, for no response was reported, and meetings were held for a time in homes, and then once again on First day afternoons at the old meeting house.²⁴ Finally land was made available by Jeremiah C. Allen, funds were subscribed, labor and materials were donated, and construction was completed in Fifth Month 1926, at a cost of about one thousand dollars.²⁵ But debt dogged the meeting until a Friendly Ohio creditor forgave it, two months after the start of the Great Depression.

The decision to build was related in part to the decision of several conservative Friends in the early 1920s and beyond to relocate at Holly Spring. The meeting's active membership had been in gradual decline for some while. In 1922 Horace and Anna Edgerton, prosperous dairy farmers near Damascus, Ohio, moved their membership to Holly Spring from Upper Springfield Meeting of the conservative Ohio Yearly Meeting.²⁶ Thomas, Mary H., and Anna E. Copeland came to Holly Spring from Rich Square Meeting of Eastern Quarter four years later.²⁷ The William B. Stanleys, six in all, came from the Fairhope,

Alabama, conservative meeting the same year.²⁸ The Hall family followed the Edgertons from the Upper Springfield, Ohio, meeting in 1928.²⁹ The old patterns of Quaker migration among Friends communities continued, as members of these Holly Spring families in successive years moved back and forth among the conservative meetings of Alabama, Ohio, and Iowa. Some who were children then have recalled that their parents were not motivated by economic gain, as nineteenth century Quaker migrants surely were, and in at least one instance experienced a loss in coming to Holly Spring.³⁰ The struggle for survival of the North Carolina meeting, and a desire to establish a faithful, conservative Friends community in a region where Friends had long flourished, drew them. The Holly Spring Meeting, therefore, had become an intentional conservative Quaker community.

One important aspect of this community was the school that was established in the new meeting house. This building, which still stands, was the last Quaker structure in the state to be built with a partition and shutters that could be raised to join the two rooms thus created, or lowered to separate them. Originally used to separate the women's and men's business meetings, the style was employed at Holly Spring to separate meeting room from schoolroom. The school itself was representative of a type of Quaker institution that had almost disappeared. The Quaker educational tradition, in which the yearly meeting's New Garden Boarding School had been established in 1837, was one of providing a "guarded education" for Quaker children to keep them free from worldly influence. Following the Civil War, the Baltimore Association had helped to organize schools in or near meeting houses throughout the state, but these small schools also served the non-Quaker community. With the coming of publicly funded education many were converted into public institutions. New Garden School was upgraded first to high-school level until it became Guilford College in 1888.

Holly Spring Friends had held school at or near their meeting house at least since the beginning of the nineteenth century.³¹ Sometime after 1867, with the aid and encouragement of the Baltimore Association, a new school was begun and was in operation at least by 1883.³² Known as Evergreen Academy, it was similar in design to the later



*Evergreen Academy, about 1966.
North Carolina Friends Historical Collection.*

conservative meeting house and school, with partition and shutters that separated girls and boys. The building was located on the Thomas Hinshaw farm, and at least one of the conservative leaders, Jeremiah C. Allen, had taught there.³³ The schoolhouse was also the site of several revival meetings held by a California Quaker evangelist in 1885.³⁴

By the 1920s Evergreen Academy was no longer in operation, and it is doubtful that, even if it had been, it would have met the needs of the conservative Friends for a “guarded” education of their children. Southern Quarterly Meeting, established in 1911, authorized in 1925 the establishment of a school which was taught by Anna and Thomas Copeland, and which was housed in the new Holly Spring meeting house the following year.³⁵ Initial enrollment for the six-month term was eight, in grades two, three, six, seven, and eight.³⁶ Eventually it went from grade one through grade eleven. The school was named Friendsville Boarding School, and some students from other meetings in Southern Quarter did indeed board with Holly Spring families

during the term. It is unclear where and when the name Friendsville originated, but it appears to have come into use about the time the meeting and school house was built, when conservative Friends from elsewhere were moving into the community. In any event the name stuck, and although the meeting remained officially Holly Spring, Friendsville became the popular designation for the conservative meeting, school, and community.³⁷

Friendsville now had a meeting house, school, and strong conservative Quaker population of about seventy members.³⁸ It also had a newspaper, *The Friendsville Current*, which began publication in 1925 as a paper of the school, under the editorship of Jeremiah C. Allen. The paper included student writings; editorials, essays, and religious poetry from adult Friends; news items; and reprints from older Quaker books and periodicals, particularly *The Friend*, the periodical of Philadelphia's Orthodox Quakers. The *Current* was to be published for twenty-eight years, until 1953, with only one change of editor, to Mary H. Copeland in 1933. It quickly became a vehicle for expressing conservative Quaker thought, and its original role as a school paper was seldom in evidence. Although it struggled to make ends meet, its small subscriber list included readers throughout the U. S. (particularly Ohio, Iowa, and Pennsylvania) and abroad, and of several denominations, although most were certainly conservative Friends.³⁹

Although it is not totally obvious from the editorials, there was a cleavage within the conservative ranks over the strictness with which traditional Quaker ways were to be observed. Eastern Quarterly Meeting Friends had apparently hoped for eventual reunification with the larger group of Friends in the state, but Southern Quarterly Meeting proved to be of a very different mind. The leadership of Benjamin P. Brown, whose religious visits had helped to bring about the division at Holly Spring, was even questioned by some of its leaders.⁴⁰ A later historian has described Brown as a "conservative Gurneyite," rather than a Wilburite.⁴¹ Whenever Eastern Quarter or the yearly meeting under Eastern Quarter leadership moved toward accommodation with other Friends, Southern Quarter Friends, especially those from Friendsville, were quick to denounce the action. For



*"Friendsville" (Holly Spring) interior.
North Carolina Friends Historical Collection.*

Eastern Quarter Friends, who had made similar protests about the leadership of North Carolina Yearly Meeting before the division, the shoe was clearly on the other foot.

Friendsville's Jeremiah C. Allen proved to be the most aggressive apostle of conservative principle. The first person to be recorded as a minister by the Friendsville Meeting,⁴² Jeremiah Allen had been born at Holly Spring in 1886. During the First World War he refused military service. Later, in his work as a government mail clerk, he was required to carry a gun and refused on grounds of conscience. The postal officials were convinced of his sincerity, and transferred him to a position as city mail carrier in High Point, where he took up residence.⁴³ The transfer resulted in a lengthy trip to and from the Friendsville Meeting, but he continued to be active there until his

death in 1952. As a preacher he was remembered for speaking so loudly that he could be heard clearly in the home of Mary Copeland across the road from the meeting house, and then so softly that he could barely be heard by those in the meeting room.⁴⁴

Allen regularly attacked both "Hicksite" Friends (who had separated from Orthodox Friends in 1827 and were hardly plentiful in North Carolina prior to the Second World War), for allegedly denying Christ's divinity, and "Progressive" Friends ("renewal" Friends in Hamm's terminology), for departing from Quaker practice. He complained about the yearly meeting's allowing ministers from the larger body to sit on the facing benches during meeting for worship, for organizing separate activities for young Friends,⁴⁵ and for other forms of interfellowship and deviation. Allen was particularly incensed when, in 1937, the yearly meeting appointed official representatives to attend the Friends World Conference at Swarthmore and Haverford colleges (Hicksite and Gurneyite institutions, respectively), despite objections from Southern Quarter.⁴⁶ He felt so strongly that the yearly meeting had acted in bad faith that he suggested the removal of Southern Quarter from that body.⁴⁷ As late as 1948 he was warning conservatives of the presence of "Hicksites" in the state.⁴⁸

Jeremiah Allen took very seriously the strict obedience of Friends to the commands he believed they had received from the Lord to observe plainness and to renounce outward pleasures and pursuits. The conservative Quaker concept of the cross and suffering seemed to require that anguish accompany this obedience, even though there was considerable support to be found within the Friends community for what might seem unconventional to "the world." Allen wrote to Thomas Copeland in 1928,

Thomas, I had hoped that no one would ever notice that I had left off my tie.... Thou are more the cause than anyone else, save Jesus Christ. Thy willingness to leave thine off, was so encouraging to me, tho nothing had ever been said about it, that it put me to thinking whether such might be required of me, yea or nay; for I had remembered that thee had took a pride in thy tie, as I felt, and that thee was made willing to leave it off, was cause for me to carefully examine my own self in that respect, and when I endeavored to find the mind of Truth, I felt there was an uneasiness there, yet I did not feel that I was really

required to give it up, until at Mahlon Newlins Q. M. time, when I put it on, and the hook broke, which was practically a new tie, and I thought strange of that, why it should do so, and all at ONCE it came to me, I had just as well leave it off anyway, that my influence would be greater and more pleasing to the dear Lord that I should discard it...and I have felt peaceful in so doing.⁴⁹

Allen's letter shows no awareness that his struggle to give up wearing a tie, without calling attention to himself but as a witness to others, was experienced and described in very similar language (except that the tie might have been a wig, or giving "hat honor") by Friends back to the seventeenth century. Yet he was well read in the Quaker classics, which he reprinted in the *Current*, and was beyond doubt deeply aware of this tradition in which he stood. It was necessary for him that the experience and the words not merely imitate those of others, for then they would have been appropriated from someone else, instead of an authentic, immediate apprehension of Truth. Allen seems to have recapitulated the experience of his Quaker ancestors without losing his sense of its spontaneity and novelty or its authenticity for him. This ability psychically to fuse tradition with immediate experience is an important key to understanding the persistence of Quaker culture, as well as its increasing rarity.

Jeremiah Allen also felt himself moved on more than one occasion to denounce unfaithfulness within the conservative yearly meeting. Describing the sessions of 1927, he related a recurring urge to speak, which he struggled to put aside:

It continues to come up, and in the foreground, I feel there is much suffering;—not only suffering for want of being made willing, but suffering in our day, if we are faithful to Divine requirements—as was witnessed by poor me at our late Y. M., and tho the sympathy of those, of my dear Friends, meant much to me, without the confirmation of the Lord, and the sweet peace He filled my soul with, as I, in a stammering way, endeavored to be faithful, even, in the face of open opposition. So we see, if we are to be faithful, there will be suffering through opposition within our own ranks.⁵⁰

In still another letter he again described his suffering as he tried in vain to suppress what he considered the Lord's imperative to speak out in opposition to deviations:

Thee may never know how I wrestled with it, and one after another would rise and I hoped that the mtg. [for worship] would break [i.e., end] without ever giving me a chance [to speak], and when there was finally a quiet at the close, I felt I must not shirk duty, in the face of all the known opposition I felt there was there to anything I might have to say, but thanks be to God who giveth us the victory, all this was brushed aside, and in great weakness and fear I was made willing to be faithful, let what come might come.⁵¹

On a religious visit to Eastern Quarter in 1928, Jeremiah Allen was surprised to receive a favorable reception:

I have marveled how I have been cared for on our recent religious trip to eastern Carolina, and how I dreaded to go amongst them, not from a guilty conscience, but rather from a feeling of going into the enemy's country, and where I knew I was not wanted, nor to be heard, and that made it all the more hard for me to be faithful, but thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory, through Jesus Christ, our Lord, way was made where there seemed to be no way, to our great admiration and surprise.⁵²

The element of faithful suffering is present even in this account, for if the true Friend did not suffer at the hands of the Lord's enemies, he did so in his anticipation of their opposition. The dynamic of suffering is so strong that it seems not to have occurred to Allen that his anger might have been misdirected, or that the Lord might urge him to conciliation rather than to principled dissension. Allen was not alone in this opinion. In an article in the *Current*, Joseph E. Myers argued that the militant language of much of the Bible was an indication that Friends should not hang back from speaking Truth for fear of causing dissention.⁵³

Jeremiah Allen's anguished assault upon the deviations of Eastern Quarter Friends was motivated in part by his identification with the sufferings of earlier Friends, probably including those of Thomas Hinshaw, who had died a year or two before Allen wrote,

How I have been discouraged since our Y. M., not from a feeling of dereliction of duty, but to see and realize how swiftly we are passing down the stages of time, trampling the very things under foot, that was so near and dear to the best lives of those who labored so valiantly in His service while here on earth, and who have only been gathered home a short time, to reap their reward, and here we are left to fight

the battles they so earnestly prosecuted, and I believe if we fail therein their blood will cry out upon our spirits... How my heart has gone out for Southern Qr. since our late Y. M., that we might stand a united band.⁵⁴

The theme of suffering and bearing the cross of plainness was also emphasized by Anderson M. Barker. Barker, like Allen, had little formal education and was suspicious of too much learning. Born during the Civil War, in 1862, he and brother Solomon grew up in deprived circumstances. Their father died in 1864 and their mother suffered deeply from the depredations of war. Solomon was able to attend the Quaker Westtown School in Pennsylvania. Anderson studied his brother's books and eventually taught school for a time in the Holly Spring community. He had a prodigious, perhaps photographic, memory and was able to quote at length passages from the Bible and the Quaker classics. As a truck farmer he sold his produce in nearby Asheboro and is reported to have converted at least one customer to whom he gave a Friends tract.⁵⁵ He was known for his love of children and remembered for collecting and distributing clovers of four or more leaves.⁵⁶ He was the first to leave Holly Spring Meeting to establish a conservative meeting and was its first clerk. In 1934 the Friendsville Meeting recorded him as a minister.⁵⁷ He, Jeremiah Allen, and other Southern Quarter ministers traveled widely in the ministry, to Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New England, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Canada, Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany. Barker contributed lengthy, well written pieces to at least every other issue of the *Friendsville Current* during his years as its associate editor, beginning in 1931, and was ninety-one when it ceased publication in 1953. He died four years later.

Because of his prolific writing Anderson Barker did as much or more than anyone else to articulate and shape conservative thought in North Carolina. In one important sense Barker's thought was not new, and he would have been the first to admit, and rejoice, that it was not. He believed that Christ never changes and that, therefore, the ideas of those who obey him should not change either. Yet his writing has a delightful freshness and a quotability that indicate that Barker, like Jeremiah Allen, was recapitulating the tradition in his

own, fresh, unique, original way. For him, conservative Quaker culture was a living force.

Barker's point of departure from revivalist Friends was that they were not really responding to the call of Christ in their conversions, which left them, in his opinion, little changed.⁵⁸ The call of Christ is the call to obedience, to take up the cross, to become perfect, to forsake the world and its pleasures:

I fear that many who profess conversion, do not enough come into obedience to the changing, purifying operation of the Spirit of life, so there is not that growth in grace nor the overcoming of the world which that faith which is the gift of God would produce.

The great trouble with much of the professing Christian world is an unwillingness to dwell under this refining influence, because of the cross to their own wills.⁵⁹

In short, what hindered many would-be Christians was fear of the cross:

The fear of the cross, and the unwillingness to appear different from the world proceeds from the spirit of darkness and death, and all who fail to take up the cross, which alone crucifies the evil nature, close their way to advancement in a religious life, or of being prepared to meet their God in peace.⁶⁰

This cross, this obedience that was called for, was in the broadest sense the death of self-will and obedience to the inward Christ. But it was difficult if not impossible for him to conceive of this obedience except in the terms traditionally known to Friends. Thus, worldly amusements, especially dancing, were a waste of precious time and "unfit the mind for devotional exercises."⁶¹ Music was the devil's instrument.⁶² The Lord called his people to leave the

World's friendships, vain fashions, ... sinful amusements, which would include the movies, the theatre and the dance. Perhaps this part would not much apply to our readers, but ... in nearly all the so called Quaker Colleges and Preparatory Schools dancing is practiced.⁶³

Likewise,

All who have Christ for their Ruler will be preserved from the undue pursuit [*sic*] of the things of this world, which perhaps, has been one

of the enemies [*sic*] most successful snares among Friends since persecution ceased. He will rule out all hurtful reading, and preserve all from putting too much time upon the news, and other such readings, to the neglect of the Bible and other good books, which have to do with our eternal interests.⁶⁴

But the use of plain dress, plain speech, and avoidance of worldly pursuits were not the only, or necessarily the most important, signs of a changed life. The cross of Christ created a new spirit, in which one was at peace with oneself and with others:

There must be individual peace before there can be national or world peace and proportion as the citizens of the world come to live under the government of the Spirit of the Prince of Peace, there will be this perfect peace....

Individual peace implies a state of freedom from the guilt of sin.⁶⁵

The bond of spiritual peace was more powerful than that of arms or formal alliances among nations:

May there now be a woe pronounced against the different nations of the world because of their trust in great armaments, and such plans for safety as "The Atlantic Pact," instead of trusting in the Lord.⁶⁶

Yet there was no question that, in Barker's mind, the abandonment by Friends of the cross of plainness had led to the widespread loss of the Quaker Peace Testimony in the Second World War.

That there has been great departures from the original practices of Friends cannot be denied; departures to the extent that it has been admitted that there are many meetings of Friends which one might long attend without knowing from appearances what denomination was represented. The enemy of all righteousness, to avoid detection, has worked gradually, secretly, and deceitfully, until he has, to a great extent, undermined Friend's peace testimony.⁶⁷

For him the essence of Quakerism was:

A power that saves from everything that is not of God; a salvation that saves from the love of the world and its friendships which are enmity against God; a salvation that saves from all hatred and revenge.⁶⁸

It was riches, love of ease, and the absence of persecution, according to Barker, that caused Friends to change:

When persecution ceased, and Friends became prosperous, there was a gradual declension from primitive zeal and faithfulness...yet, a remnant remained faithful [to the principle of a waiting worship and a free Gospel ministry]...⁶⁹

Barker, and other conservative Friends, also understood the concept of sin and the Gospels in a way very different from the revivalist Friends. The original sin of humanity was the transgression of the divine command,

Which produced spiritual death, and which has affected all...posterity, and while all are born with a seed or nature of sin in them, yet none are under guilt until they transgress the Divine law written in their hearts; until they disobey the light of Christ in their conscience.⁷⁰

Since children are, therefore, originally innocent, parents and the community play a vital role in leading the child into the paths of righteousness:

There is perhaps nothing of greater importance than that they should teach them early how Christ comes to them, and impress the importance of receiving him in his first and smallest appearances unto them; that, by heeding the strivings, the restraints and reproofs of his spirit they might be prevented from wandering far from the state of innocence in which they were born, and incurring guilt by disobedience to the divine laws written in their hearts.⁷¹

A guarded education was, therefore, essential.

Although the divinity of Christ and the atonement of his sacrificial death were articles of faith for conservative Friends, and although they also believed that humans lost in sin required divine assistance if they were to be redeemed,⁷² they nevertheless held to the inward Light, the seed of Truth planted within the mind, which made faith active and enabled people to respond to God's love and the message of salvation. The Bible, therefore, while not contradicted by the experience of the inward Christ, is not sufficient of itself to be the standard of faith and practice and should not be set up in Christ's place:

Calling the scriptures the word of God, a title which seems to make them equal with Christ who is the Word, and putting them as the primary rule of faith and practice, is an unsound principle. . . .

This fosters human priesthood [*sic*], and a paid ministry and leads into a dependance [*sic*] upon man for religious teaching, and has done more perhaps than anything else to keep the minds of the people outward; and from receiving Christ inward; and from receiving Christ in the way of him coming, in his inward spiritual appearance as their teacher and their ruler in all things.⁷³

Barker struggled valiantly to be consistent with this principle, and not to insist that everyone's obedience must take the form it had among conservative Friends:

Amid all the changes and the conflicting views, each individual must find truth for himself, or rather be found of the truth, for the Word, which is Christ, Who is the Truth, is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and thy heart. It is here truth must be recognized and received.⁷⁴

Likewise, the object of a later article was:

Not so much to tell any what they should, or should not do, as to encourage them in obedience to the grace of God which will teach them what to deny, and how to live.⁷⁵

Anderson Barker was able to perceive some of the power of cultural conditioning and to admit that non-Friends might possibly be enabled to be faithful to Christ:

We have subscribers who belong to other Denominations, which we appreciate. We believe the difference in religious belief, to a great extent, comes from training and environment, but in a way all must come to the same thing, as there is only one way into the heavenly kingdom, which is Christ.⁷⁶

Still, he could not quite embrace the idea that the old Friends ways were not somehow normative:

Some speak of the search after truth as if it had not yet been found, and I believe there is great danger while looking further, that what is already revealed may be disregarded.⁷⁷

The greatest burden upon conservative Friends, as their numbers dwindled, was to understand why, if they had been faithful, the Lord had not added to their number, as he had for the early Friends. One possible explanation, which Barker saw as having led to the apostasy of those who had forsaken Quaker testimonies, was the observance by nineteenth-century Friends of the letter, without the spirit, of plainness:

When persecution of those called Quakers ceased, and there came a time of ease and worldly prosperity...many members held the form of their profession while out of the life, which brought a reproach upon the principles and practices of Friends, which condition the enemy took the advantage of to remove Friends off their foundation, but the lack was not that these principles were wrong, unsound or out of date, but because of unfaithfulness to them, so there was much need of a change to greater obedience to the spirit of the Lord which led Friends to be a separate people, which would have preserved them in the life and unity of the spirit and kept them from becoming darkened, deceived and divided.⁷⁸

It is unclear which Friends Barker had in mind, but it is doubtful that they belonged to Southern Quarter. The charge of wealth had been leveled against Eastern Quarter Friends by the larger meeting at the time of the division, but the same charge had been directed toward Philadelphia Friends. Doubtless both groups were seen by Southern Quarter Friends as having deviated from Friends testimonies.

So unfaithfulness came to be seen as the principal reason for conservative Quakerism's failure to attract new adherents:

Among what is termed conservative Friends, the enemy has caused a dwindling, both because of the unfaithfulness of the members, and because among the people in general, there is a seeking an easier way to the kingdom than the way of the cross, and a way that allows a closer walk with the world, and greater conformity to the ways thereof.⁷⁹

Barker, despite his recognition that the spirit of Christ could and did operate among others, was not able to bring himself to the point of affirming that the same spirit could lead conservative Friends to be obedient in ways other than those of the past. Neither was he willing to relegate conservative Quakerism to a bygone era, to see it as an instrument of God that had served its purpose but was no longer appropriate, and should be allowed to die. The Shakers came to just such a conclusion about themselves, but conservative Friends did not.

Another possible resolution would have been an apocalyptic stance, a belief that the world was rapidly headed for destruction, and that those who remained faithful would be saved. The advent of nuclear

weapons seemed to suggest just such a possibility, and Barker flirted with it in one of his essays:

As our nation continues to cultivate a military spirit, and continues to prepare for mass destruction of human lives, instead of bringing a blessing, it is sure to bring a curse upon us, but those who live in obedience to the will of the Lord will be safe, whatever befall, and this is what we wish to encourage in all to whom this may come.⁸⁰

But in the end, the strong Quaker belief in the perfectibility of human nature and society, in obedience to God, seems to have kept conservative Friends from strongly embracing a facile apocalypticism. They were forced back to the conclusion that their numbers were shrinking because they had not been faithful enough.

This position was strongly stated by Mary Hazard Copeland, the editor of the *Current* after 1932, and both clerk and treasurer of the meeting from 1945 until she moved to Salem, Ohio, in 1957, where she died in 1981. As an Eastern Quarter Friend who had moved with her husband and sister-in-law to Friendsville in 1926, she was clearly not one of those who had supposedly remained at ease, and surrendered her Quaker principles. She was a member of the Hazard family from New York state, and a direct descendant of John Wilbur, so that she could have justly claimed to be a true Wilburite aristocrat.⁸¹ She was never recorded as a minister, however, and she wrote much less than her associate editor, Anderson Barker. Most of her contributions were more generally devotional in character, and less controversial, than his. Yet she also urged Friends to avoid places of diversion, especially the theater,⁸² to refrain from singing and playing musical instruments,⁸³ to avoid card playing,⁸⁴ and not to tolerate divorce.⁸⁵

She advocated total abstinence, not moderation, in each of these, not because they were inherently sinful, but because doing them led to ridicule of conservative Friends by other Quakers and because any indulgence could lead to overindulgence.

Mary Copeland was very concerned about the decline in the numbers of conservative Friends, which she consistently attributed to lack of faithfulness.⁸⁶ She devoted at least nine essays and editorials to this subject from 1933 through 1953. She lamented the chronic shortage of

original articles and subscribers for the *Current*, the “lack of power in our meetings,” the death of many older members, and the shortage of new members to carry on. Her answer in every case was to urge increased faithfulness and trust in the Lord. Yet she did not define faithfulness too narrowly or superficially:

It is only through faithfulness in little things, the little word dropped here or the kindness performed there that we can grow in grace and the knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.⁸⁷

That did not mean, however, that distinctive Friends testimonies were unimportant; on the contrary,

Why then should we forsake that teaching and example of Christ and run after the inventions of man. (I do not condemn other denominations for following their religious convictions as their way is right for them.) Let us seek to know what is the right way for us and faithfully follow that way and I believe our meeting houses will not be so empty.⁸⁸

The theme was unshaken in the next-to-last issue of the *Current*:

So might we wax strong in the Lord and our ranks increase if we would become more faithful and obedient to our merciful Master.⁸⁹

With the laying down of the *Current*, Mary Copeland’s departure to Ohio, the deaths of other leaders, and the removal of so many of the children of Friendsville, the conservative Friends community lost most of its strength by the end of the nineteen-fifties. It continued to hold meetings for worship, with only two members remaining active in 1980, when one of them died and regular meetings ceased. The only meeting remaining active in Southern Quarter was the small West Grove Meeting in Alamance County, made up almost entirely of the members of one family. By that time new, urban meetings had been established or had joined the yearly meeting. Although unprogrammed and without pastors, they were far more intellectual, cosmopolitan, theologically diverse, and “worldly” than the old Friends of Southern Quarter would have wished. The numbers were finally increasing, but not for the reasons they had expected.

The Friendsville Meeting was an anomaly, even among conservative Friends. Ohio Yearly Meeting, long the strictest of the conservative

groups, was already emerging from its long isolation, even from other conservative meetings, by the time the meeting was established at Holly Spring, North Carolina.⁹⁰ The Friendsville Meeting became an intentional conservative Quaker community, a last outpost of “pure” Quaker culture in a changing world. As such it was different even from its “parent” conservative meeting, Rich Square. Yet surprisingly, it was the Carolinians themselves, typified by the two men from Holly Spring, Jeremiah Allen and Anderson Barker, who were the strictest.

It is perhaps in the Holly Spring community itself, therefore, that one must look to understand the nature of this apparently anachronistic Quaker group. After all the turmoil of its early years up to 1865, it remained much the same until the most recent generation (about the time that the Friendsville Meeting lost its strongest leaders), when it became “really urban in nature” and its “residents have ceased to be a rural people in the old sense of the word.”⁹¹ Therefore, until about 1950, at least some Friendsville Friends could remember their families’ suffering for their peculiar Quaker ways and testimonies, and had grown up identifying that suffering



(L-R) Anna Cameron Edgerton Hampton, Mary Hazard Copeland, Anna C. Copeland Fisher, at North Carolina Yearly Meeting Conservative, Woodland, N.C., about 1954. North Carolina Friends Historical Collection.

with a virtually unbroken chain of suffering stretching back three centuries. Hardly any other Quaker community anywhere shared that experience. Because so little change took place in the larger community and because of its isolation, the conservative Friends were not assaulted by the larger culture or by cultural change as were other Friends meetings. Furthermore, because the conservatives split off from the larger body of Friends, but remained close by, they were always conscious, as Mary Copeland pointed out, that any deviation or compromise with the world would bring ridicule from the larger body of Friends.⁹² The pain of that realization and the awareness that they were outnumbered in their own community merely served to strengthen their resolve and to unite them in the bond of suffering with all their Quaker ancestors. The sacrifices and the faithfulness of those who had come from afar to join them reinforced their own commitment and their concern not to be found wanting. Since they were not affluent, they were perhaps less tempted to forsake their cross of plainness.

One is confronted at Friendsville with a genuine Quaker culture capable of inspiring, nurturing, and empowering people, of validating them as persons. It was able to empower Jeremiah Allen to recapitulate his ancestors' experience of renouncing the wearing of worldly dress and to validate it as his own, authentic, novel act of obedience to what it termed the Christ within. It was able to empower Anderson Barker and Mary Copeland to write, at length and repeatedly, expressing and elaborating the same thoughts their ancestors had expressed for centuries and to validate their work as a fresh, vital, articulate, new expression of what they saw as universal truth.

Quaker historian Howard Brinton has referred to the eighteenth century as the great period of Quaker cultural creativity, in contrast to its usual designation as the quietistic period. Brinton defines a culture as "a clearly defined way of life with a spiritual basis. A true culture affects every aspect of life."⁹³ He adds that

The Quaker way of life as developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries survived in many places through much of the nineteenth century, and in a few areas it has persisted well into the twentieth.⁹⁴

He might have been thinking about Friendsville. Humanly speaking, conservative Quakerism depended upon the strength and integrity of its cultural communities, bound together by its members' travels in the ministry. As that culture began to break down, as communities fragmented, as farming became increasingly a part-time occupation or a large-scale mechanized business, as more and more people migrated to towns and cities, and as urban culture replaced rural values, it is also not surprising that traditional Quaker culture began to give way.

Conservative Quaker historian William Taber described the same factors that had broken down the barriers that had isolated the culture of nineteenth-century conservative Friends:

Changing methods of farming and business, rising standards of education and the mobility of the educated, two World Wars, declining membership, and developments in world Quakerism have all contributed to bringing the conservatives back into the mainstream of Quaker life.⁹⁵

Conservative Quakerism continues to exist in North Carolina today, but it is not the Quaker conservatism of Friendsville. That sort of absolute Quakerism lives today among "neo-conservative" Friends in Ohio and elsewhere—most of them converts who have found freedom in its uncompromising rejection of society's values and its insistence on strict adherence to the Quaker testimonies. Like the founders of the Friendsville community, they intentionally adhere to "plain" dress and speech, silent waiting worship, and a guarded education. Many have returned to low-intensity family farming. Some, who describe themselves as Luddites, eschew modern technology as well, much as the Amish do.⁹⁶ Like Jeremiah C. Allen, several of these Friends travel "in the ministry" to other Friends meetings, especially conservative meetings, calling them back to primitive Quaker plainness and away from universalism and secular humanism.

But for the most part, conservative Friends in North Carolina have chosen another way, "more open, more aware of the wider world and involved in it, and definitely not Luddite," as one lifelong conservative Friend in North Carolina put it recently.⁹⁷ Some monthly meetings hold membership in both the conservative NCYM and Piedmont

Friends Fellowship, a more liberal group. The “flavor” of these meetings, with their roots deep in the soil of Quaker culture, strikes many as attractive—Christian but not dogmatic, open and loving in spirit, following the leadings of the Spirit in the world.

Do these Friends still bear the “cross of plainness”? Are their lives still clearly distinguishable from those of other Friends, other Christians, and other people? If “plain” speech and dress are the test of plainness, these Friends are not plain. But if plainness has to do with integrity of speech and the avoidance of extravagance, they are. Nearly two decades ago I listened to a panel of young “birthright conservative” Friends speak to the conservative NCYM at Guilford College. Today several of them occupy Quaker leadership positions. As I listened, I was reminded of the debate among paleontologists over whether the dinosaurs, which ruled the planet for millions of years, went extinct when their environment changed suddenly, or evolved into something else. I thought of the older conservative Friends who once had a vital religious culture that challenged greed, deceit, institutional violence, and worldly power and show. Yet, as their world changed, their distinctive mode of dress and speech came to seem merely quaint, an in-group thing, rather than the shape of Christ’s cross. Their environment had changed drastically, and many of their meetings declined in numbers or died out altogether, as Friendsville did. Some of their children, unable to live in the world as “plain” conservative Friends, sought larger fields of service among other types of Friends or left Friends altogether. And yet, the wonderful young people on the panel before me, who had stayed in the conservative fold, had managed somehow to transmute their heritage into something lighter, more nimble, more able to soar. “They didn’t go extinct,” I thought. “They evolved into birds.”

Notes

¹I exclude here the later departure of a few meetings to join what is now the Evangelical Friends Church Eastern Region, since these departures did not split the yearly meeting. For a comprehensive discussion of the events leading up to the division of 1903, see Damon D. Hickey, "Progressives and Conservatives Search for Order: The Division of North Carolina Quakers," *The Southern Friend* VI (Spring 1984): 17–35.

²Damon D. Hickey, *Sojourners No More: The Quakers in the New South, 1865–1920*, (Greensboro, N.C.: North Carolina Friends Historical Society and North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends), 15–34, 48–58.

³Thomas D. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800–1907* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1988), 36–97. Quotation from page 96.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵Wilmer A. Cooper, *Growing Up Plain: The Journey of a Public Friend* (Richmond, Ind. and Pendle Hill, Pa.: Friends United Press and Pendle Hill Publications, 1999), 61–65.

⁶For more information about conservative Quakerism in Ohio, see William P. Taber, Jr., *The Eye of Faith: A History of Ohio Yearly Meeting, Conservative* (Barnesville, Ohio: Ohio Yearly Meeting, 1985) and his *Be Gentle, Be Plain: A History of Olney [Friends Boarding School]* (Barnesville, Ohio: Olney Alumni Association, 1976). Conservative or “plain” Friends are linked historically to the Wilburite party of the Orthodox branch of American Quakerism. They differed from

the Gurneyite party less in terms of theology than in terms of degree of resistance to religious and secular currents of the wider society. The Gurneyites, more cosmopolitan and comfortable in the business world, favored organized Bible study, Sunday schools, higher education, and social reform. Because the division in North Carolina occurred half a century after the original division between Gurneyites and Wilburites, I have used the terms “traditionalist,” “conservative,” or “plain” instead. I have chosen throughout not to capitalize the term “conservative,” even though it is now part of the official name of the “conservative” North Carolina Yearly Meeting and several of its constituent meetings (to distinguish them from other meetings of the same name). Before its official adoption by that yearly meeting in 1973, it referred as much to a set of principles—waiting spiritual worship, absence of forms and ceremonies, unpaid ministry, and liberty of conscience—as to organizational identity.

⁷David E. W. Holden, *Friends Divided: Conflict and Division in the Society of Friends* (Richmond, Ind.: Friends United Press, 1988), 127–33 (on the Ohio separation) and 148 (his paradigm for how divisions occur).

⁸Hickey, *Sojourners No More*, 12–14.

⁹*Ibid.*, 35–47.

¹⁰David E. W. Holden, “Membership Numbers and the 1902–4 North Carolina Yearly Meeting Division,” *The Southern Friend* VI (Spring 1984): 36–38.

¹¹Hickey, *Sojourners No More*, 73.

¹²This history of the conservative Holly Spring Meeting first appeared in Damon D. Hickey, “Bearing the Cross of Plainness: Conservative Quaker Culture in North Carolina” (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1982).

¹³Seth B. Hinshaw, *Friends at Holly Spring Meeting and Community* (Greensboro: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Holly Spring Meeting, 1982), 1–59 passim.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 47–48; “Some Account of the Trials and Travels that Thomas Hinshaw, with Others Had to Pass through while Kept in the Confederate Army,” *Friendsville Current*, 8th Month and 9th Month 1939.

¹⁵Hinshaw, 58.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 134.

¹⁷Anderson M. Barker, "A Short Account of Friendsville," *Friendsville Current*, 2nd Month 1930.

¹⁸Holly Spring Monthly Meeting of Friends, Minutes, Meetings of IV-17-1909, V-15-1909, VIII-21-1909, and VIII-16-1910.

¹⁹Jay, 168.

²⁰Holly Spring Monthly Meeting of Friends (conservative), Minutes, Meeting of III-12-1910.

²¹Seth B. Hinshaw, *Mary Barker Hinshaw, Quaker: A Story of Friends in Civil War Times* (Richmond, Ind.: Friends United Press, 1982).

²²Holly Spring Monthly Meeting, Meeting of III-19-1910.

²³Holly Spring Monthly Meeting (conservative), Meeting of I-14-1922.

²⁴*Ibid.*, Meetings of VI-10-1922 and VIII-8-1925.

²⁵*Ibid.*, Meeting of VI-12-1926.

²⁶*Ibid.*, Meeting of II-11-1922.

²⁷*Ibid.*, Meeting of II-13-1926.

²⁸*Ibid.*, Meeting of VIII-14-1926.

²⁹*Ibid.*, Meeting of VII-14-1928.

³⁰Reminiscences shared during yearly meeting session at a celebration of the Friendsville Meeting, 7th Month 9, 1982.

³¹Hinshaw, *Friends at Holly Spring*, 61.

³²*Ibid.*, 68-69.

³³*Ibid.*, 61, 68.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 70.

³⁵Southern Quarterly Meeting of Friends (conservative), Minutes, Meeting of VII-25-1925; Jeremiah C. Allen, "Editorial," *Friendsville Current*, 12th Month 1925.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷A number of North Carolina conservative meetings have more than one name. Part of the explanation lies in the older practice (still in use in England) of having several preparative meetings (worship groups) in each monthly meeting—a practice abandoned by the Uniform Discipline. Thus, for example, Rich Square Monthly Meeting originally comprised Cedar Grove and Rich Square preparative meetings, each of which had its own meeting house. After the division the conservatives retained the Cedar Grove meeting house in Woodland, while the other Friends met in the Rich Square meeting house at Rich Square; both considered themselves to be Rich Square Monthly Meeting. The conservative group is, therefore, referred to as the Cedar Grove, Rich Square, or Woodland Meeting, depending on the context. (Since the other Rich Square Meeting, at Rich Square, no longer exists, the only remaining Rich Square Meeting now meets in Woodland, not in Rich Square!) Sometimes place names were substituted for meeting names. Marlboro Meeting (conservative) wanted to call itself New Hope, after the community, but the quarterly meeting disapproved the name change, possibly in order to maintain its claim that the conservatives were the “true” Marlboro Meeting. But the need to distinguish readily between two neighboring Friends meetings frequently overpowered ecclesiastical purity, and popular names continued to be applied, to the confusion of subsequent generations.

³⁸Barker.

³⁹“Renewals Received for Volume Four, Friendsville Current,” *Friendsville Current*, 1st Month 1929.

⁴⁰Anderson M. Barker to Kenneth Morse, XII-7-1933, Anderson M. Barker Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Hege Library, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

⁴¹William P. Taber, Jr., “The Expanding World of Ohio Wilburites in the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century,” *Quaker History*, 56 (Spring, 1967): 28.

⁴²Holly Spring Monthly Meeting (conservative), Meeting of XII-14-1918.

⁴³Obituary of Jeremiah C. Allen, *Friendsville Current*, 11th Month 1953.

⁴⁴Reminiscences shared during yearly meeting session, 7th Month 9, 1982.

⁴⁵"Impression of Our Late Yearly Meeting," *Friendsville Current*, 9th Month 1927.

⁴⁶Jeremiah C. Allen, "For Friendsville Current," *Friendsville Current*, 3rd Month 1937.

⁴⁷Holly Spring Monthly Meeting (conservative), Meeting of IX-11-1937.

⁴⁸"From Jeremiah C. Allen," *Friendsville Current*, 6th Month 1948. By 1948, there were certainly some "Hicksites" in North Carolina, if by "Hicksite" one means liberal unprogrammed Friends.

⁴⁹Jeremiah C. Allen to J. Thomas Copeland, V-10-1928, Mary H. Copeland Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Hege Library, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

⁵⁰Jeremiah C. Allen to J. Thomas Copeland, IX-12-1927, *Ibid.*

⁵¹Jeremiah C. Allen to J. Thomas Copeland, c. 1926-1927, *Ibid.*

⁵²Jeremiah C. Allen to J. Thomas Copeland, V-10-1928, *Ibid.*

⁵³Joseph E. Meyers, "A Plea for Our Religious Standard," *Friendsville Current*, 3rd Month 1931.

⁵⁴Jeremiah C. Allen to J. Thomas Copeland, IX-12-1927, Mary H. Copeland Papers.

⁵⁵Memorial of Anderson M. Barker (n.p.: 1957).

⁵⁶Reminiscences shared at yearly meeting session, 7th Month 9, 1982.

⁵⁷Holly Spring Monthly Meeting (conservative), Meeting of XI-10-1934.

⁵⁸Anderson M. Barker, "Conversion," *Friendsville Current*, 6th Month 1935.

⁵⁹Anderson M. Barker, "Conversion, Gradual or Otherwise," *Friendsville Current*, 6th Month 1942.

⁶⁰Anderson M. Barker, "Be Ye Also Ready," *Friendsville Current*, 1st Month 1936.

⁶¹Anderson M. Barker, "Worldly Amusements," *Friendsville Current*, 8th Month 1933.

⁶²Anderson M. Barker, "Friends and Music," *Friendsville Current*, 1st Month 1938.

⁶³Anderson M. Barker, "Thoughts on Christian Fellowship," *Friendsville Current*, 6th Month 1943.

⁶⁴Anderson M. Barker, "Christ as Teacher and Ruler," *Friendsville Current*, 7th Month 1944.

⁶⁵Anderson M. Barker, "Perfect Peace," *Friendsville Current*, 11th Month 1945.

⁶⁶Anderson M. Barker, "Trusting in the Lord," *Friendsville Current*, 7th Month 1949.

⁶⁷Anderson M. Barker, "Thoughts on Quakerism," *Friendsville Current*, 3rd Month 1945.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*

⁶⁹Anderson M. Barker, "Thoughts on the Kingdom of God," *Friendsville Current*, 10th Month 1945.

⁷⁰"A Brief Statement of the Doctrines and Principles as Ever Believed and Practiced by Friends," *Friendsville Current*, 11th Month 1935.

⁷¹Anderson M. Barker, "Receiving Christ in the Way of His Coming," *Friendsville Current*, 7th Month 1927.

⁷²"A Brief Statement."

⁷³Barker, "Receiving Christ."

⁷⁴Anderson M. Barker, "Doctrines, Testimonies and Changes," *Friendsville Current*, 2nd Month 1931.

⁷⁵Anderson M. Barker, "Fundamental Testimony," *Friendsville Current*, 3rd Month 1943.

⁷⁶Anderson M. Barker, "Christ, Our All," *Friendsville Current*, 3rd Month 1951.

⁷⁷Barker, "Doctrines, Testimonies and Changes."

⁷⁸*Ibid.*

⁷⁹Barker, "Thoughts on the Kingdom of God."

⁸⁰Anderson M. Barker, "Blessings, Spiritual and Temporal," *Friendsville Current*, 6th Month 1946.

⁸¹John Wilbur Letters, Mary H. Copeland Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Hege Library, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

⁸²Mary H. Copeland, "Why We Should Avoid Places of Diversion," *Friendsville Current*, 2nd Month 1926.

⁸³"Editorial," *Friendsville Current*, 12th Month 1934.

⁸⁴Mary H. Copeland, "Card Playing," *Friendsville Current*, 5th Month 1935.

⁸⁵Mary H. Copeland, "Divorce and Remarriage," *Friendsville Current*, 9th Month 1940.

⁸⁶Mary H. Copeland, "The Preaching of a Holy Life," *Friendsville Current*, 6th Month 1933; "Editorial," 3rd Month 1934; "Editorial" 9th Month 1934; "Editorial," 12th Month 1941; "Editorial," 10th Month 1942; "Editorial," 10th Month 1943; "Editorial," 7th Month 1946; "The Cross of Christ," 12th Month 1950.

⁸⁷Mary H. Copeland, "Editorial," 12th Month 1941.

⁸⁸Mary H. Copeland, "Editorial," 10th Month 1942.

⁸⁹Mary H. Copeland, "Editorial," *Friendsville Current*, 11th Month 1953.

⁹⁰Taber, "The Expanding World of Ohio Wilburites," 33.

⁹¹Hinshaw, *Friends at Holly Spring*, 144.

⁹²Mary H. Copeland, "Editorial," *Friendsville Current*, 12th Month 1934.

⁹³Brinton, 184.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 187.

⁹⁵William P. Taber Jr., "Conservative Friends," in *Friends in the Americas*, ed. Francis B. Hall (Philadelphia: Friends World Committee, Section of the Americas, 1976), 55.

⁹⁶Scott Savage, a neo-conservative Ohio Friend and a self-described Luddite, founded and edited *Plain* magazine; edited *The*

Plain Reader: Essays on Making a Simple Life (New York: Ballantine Books, 1998); and wrote *A Plain Life: Walking My Belief* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2000). He and his wife live on a farm, dress in plain “Amish” style, and home-school their children. They have no car; as a testimony he walked to the state capital in order to surrender his driver’s license.

⁹⁷ Carole Treadway to Damon D. Hickey, 4 February 2005 (e-mail).

Book Review

***Night Journeys: The Power of Dreams in Transatlantic Quaker Culture*, by Carla Gerona. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2004. 290 pp. \$35.**

Humans, to borrow from the philosopher Blaise Pascal, are reeds—but dreaming reeds. Dreams are ubiquitous in human culture and have been present in the historical record for centuries where most often they have been embedded in spiritual or religious spheres. In more recent times, psychologists, anthropologists, and ethnohistorians have studied them. With very few exceptions, however, other historians have been reluctant to enter the fuzzy terra incognita of dreamland. Now comes Carla Gerona who has boldly examined more than three hundred Quaker dreams and finds them to be the master explicators of Quaker history and behavior from the seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century.

Gerona's engaging monograph, liberally studded with examples of the dreamwork that forms the database of her analysis, maintains that Quaker dreams preceded and drove Quaker talk, action, and policy. They were "maps" that came first and tellingly directed all that followed. They were as important, if not more important, than the Quaker meeting organization, the Discipline, Queries, and epistles in providing a matrix for Friends' solidarity and unity. Early English Quakers used dreams to help resolve important and often sharp disagreements among themselves about leadership and policy issues, as did American Friends in later disputes in North America. Everywhere dreams helped Friends and their Society to define themselves and their relationship with the larger society and

to government authority. When Quaker polity shifted from aggressive dissent and even martyrdom to less contentious organization building and standardizing the lifestyle of members, dreams heralded the change. With dreams pointing the way, pacifistic Friends followed English power abroad even as it morphed into global imperialism powered by violence and force of arms. Dreams charted the change of the Society and its members from seventeenth century spiritual revolutionaries to nineteenth century genteel reformers who valued their respectability.

Gerona does not openly question the bona fides of Quaker dreams or the integrity of Quaker dreamers. How could she, really? There were no witnesses and no verifiable evidence to corroborate the private encounters of dreams with dreamers. Still, in scattered comments she notes a suspicious correlation between the goals dreamers consciously promoted and the dreams they claimed to have had while unconscious. George Fox, for example, consistently “deployed dreams and visions to buttress his own authority.” His visions, Gerona emphasizes (pp.51–54), “always figured him as a leader and one who resembled Christ.” Elsewhere (p. 187) she also observes that Friends often cited dreams to justify their cause, and unsurprisingly “in many cases they offered interpretations that ultimately promoted their particular political perspective.”

Gerona’s critical asides about the character and possible dishonesty of some early Quakers might have been modified had she considered more fully what modern scientists have said about the murky relationship between dreams and dreamers. Their work suggests that human memory and perception can be unconsciously yet powerfully affected by sleep paralysis, hypnosis, neurological ticks and glitches, and by a person’s fascination with the paranormal or by their own deeply held beliefs. Psychologist Susan Clancy is among those who have explored this territory in her new study, *Abducted: How People Come to Believe They Were Kidnapped by Aliens* (Harvard University Press, 2005). The possible psycho-physiological causes of self-delusion can contribute to many discussions about human behavior, past and present, and Gerona’s analysis of early Quaker behavior would have been fuller and better balanced by considering them.

Another concern is that although Gerona's study is not comparative, she nevertheless asserts (p. 93) that "no other church incorporated dreamwork so deeply in its everyday practices" and (p. 253) that the "Quaker system for interpreting dreams was unique compared to that of other groups in different places and at other times." These, and like comments, represent authorial exuberance and overreach. Most of the world's past and present religions are based on sacred texts heavy with dreams and visions, and many religious people have and continue to experience and use them. While they differ in particularity and detail, viewed more broadly and thematically a considerable body of scholarly literature exists that finds widespread similarities in such phenomena, including Jordan Paper's recent work, *The Mystic Experience: A Descriptive and Comparative Analysis* (State University of New York, 2004).

Finally, while Gerona's exploration of Quaker dreams and dreamers is far and away the most thorough (and stimulating) we have, her basic research design has limitations, perhaps due in part to a scarcity of sources. For example, while dreams offer a possible avenue of exploration into the lives of rank-and-file Quakers and a look at the grassroots culture of Friends, hers is a history from the top down that is almost exclusively concerned with the role of Quaker elites. For this reason, her attention is fixated on the leadership of the London and Philadelphia yearly meetings and the Public Friends within the jurisdiction of those two premier meetings. The thousands of Friends in the colonial and early national South who either led or were ordinary members of the Baltimore or Maryland Yearly Meeting, the Virginia Yearly Meeting, and the North Carolina Yearly Meeting are absent from her portrait, as are others elsewhere. Further, while Gerona informs readers that she studied some three hundred Quaker dreams and visions, she does not reveal the percentage translation of this number that would provide readers with an indication of how representative or statistically significant this sampling is. Her qualitative analysis would have benefited had it been accompanied by some pertinent quantitative data. The class and geographic preferences of this book, plus uncertainty about the relative size of its dream database, detract from its effectiveness.

Still, *Night Journeys* will appeal to all readers because we are all dreamers who wonder about dreams. Carla Gerona's work is both original and innovative in its enunciation of how some early Quakers understood and used their dreams. Her portrait of these Friends and their Society further diminishes an earlier and simpler hagiographic portrayal of Quakers. Gerona's research instead adds to a more complex understanding of early Friends as "at one and the same time tolerant and intolerant, peaceful and divisive, egalitarian and elitist" (p. 252). Her work is serious, thoughtful, important, and highly recommended.

Howard Beeth
Texas Southern University

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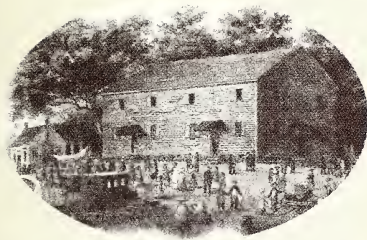
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The Southern Friend

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

Volume XXVIII

2006

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The purpose of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society is to collect, preserve, and publish valuable information relative to the history of the Society of Friends in North Carolina and adjacent territories.

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ISSN 0-743-7439

Some Southern Friends at Work

Introduction by
Mary A. Browning

Essays by and about nineteenth and early twentieth century Quaker artisans who were associated with Friends' meetings in the Deep River corridor of North Carolina were selected for this issue.

While the region produced its share and more of Friends who entered the learned professions, the greater number of them practiced skilled occupations that met local needs for smiths, cobblers, potters,¹ wheelwrights, millwrights, coopers, gunsmiths, and the like. Most were farmers as well. Ordinarily, these were not people who had literary leanings, but we show here that a few did. Their offerings may be more valuable because of the scarcity of their kind.

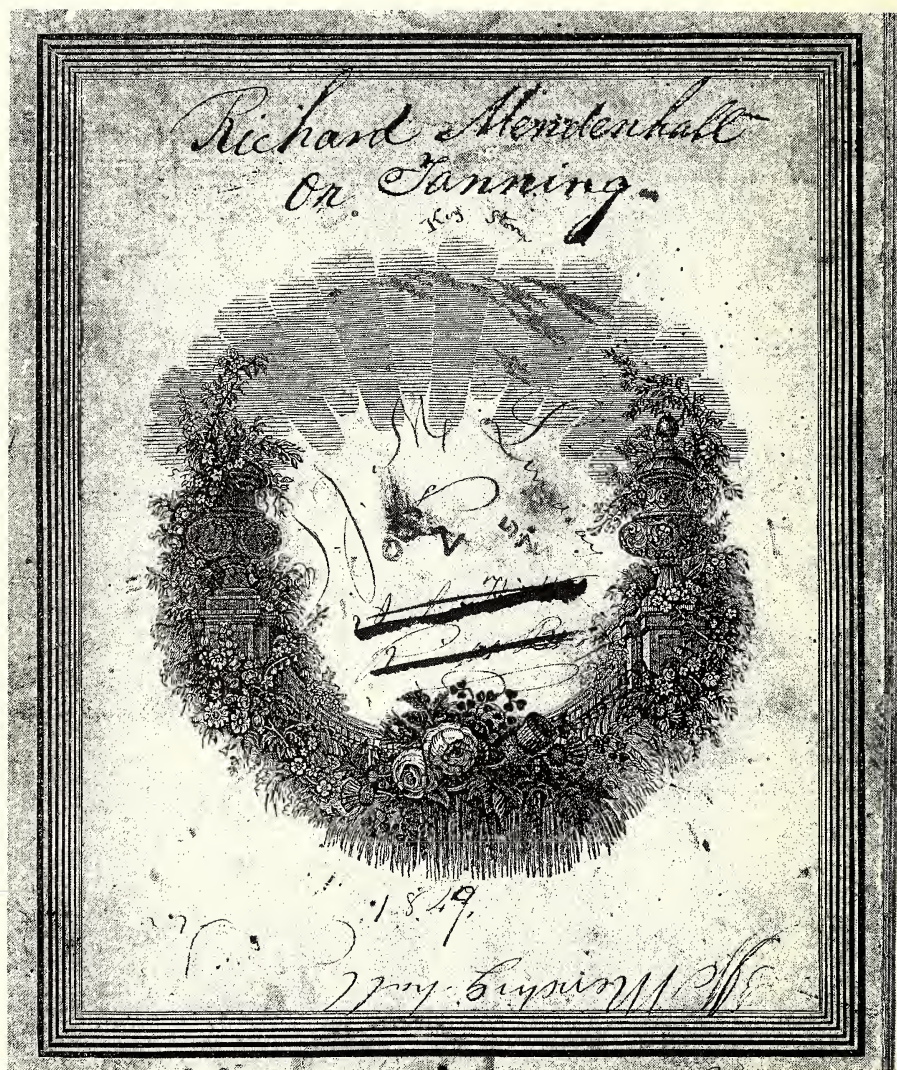
The first, by Richard Mendenhall, is somewhat known, but infrequently read, for reasons that will become apparent. It probably was intended as a handbook of instruction.

The three that follow were written by two of the "Briggs Brothers," as they were usually known, and the articles may be familiar to many of you. Their familiarity does not make them less valuable as historical documents, however.

The last was written by the editor to suit the occasion, and was pieced together from very fragmentary information. It describes a cottage industry popular among Quaker women. Perhaps someone will be led to do a more serious study of it.

Images of three items in the Friends Historical Collection appear in this journal from new digital photographs made by Gwen Gosney Erickson. Two, the hat and rifle, are on display in the reading room, but the other, the silk dress, is rarely seen.

¹ See "Quaker Ceramic Tradition in the North Carolina Piedmont. Documentation and Preliminary Survey of the Dennis Family Pottery," by Hal E. Pugh, in *The Southern Friend*, Vol. X, No. 2, Autumn, 1988.



Copybook containing Richard Mendenhall's manuscript.

Hobbs and Mendenhall Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Manuscript Department, Wilson Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Richard Mendenhall on Tanning

Introduction by Mary A. Browning

Richard Mendenhall (1778-1851) was a grandson of James Mendenhall, the early first settler of present Jamestown, North Carolina. A lifelong member of Deep River Meeting, and largely self-educated, Richard, and his wife Mary Pegg, passed a love of learning and a will to accomplish to their seven children.

They were: Minerva, a spinster and teacher who lived all her 87 years in the old home built about 1811 by her father; Rhoda, who married Amos Vestal; Cyrus, who read law with his father's brother, George C., and became mayor of Greensboro and an official of the North Carolina Railroad; Nereus, principal of Friends Boarding School at New Garden among many other important accomplishments, and eventually father-in-law of Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, a president of Guilford College; Eliza, who married Dr. Nathan Branson Hill, of Randolph County, North Carolina and later of Minneapolis, Minnesota; Richard Junius, a Minneapolis banker; and finally, Judith, perhaps best known for setting up and teaching a Freedman's School in Jamestown immediately after the Civil War.

Richard was a tanner. He served a brief youthful apprenticeship in the potter's trade in Chester County, Pennsylvania, with Jesse Kersey, until Kersey "quit potting." It was during that time, however, as he ground clay, that he repeated the Latin lessons passed along by a relative, and gained knowledge that gave him pleasure throughout his life. Richard's brother, Stephen, had been apprenticed to a tanner at the same time. When he died, Richard went to York to learn tanning from Herman Updegraf, apparently taking his brother's place.¹ This was the business that he followed for the remainder of his life in Jamestown.

Apprenticeship bonds of the period refer to the "art and mystery" which were taught by a "master" to an "apprentice" engaged in carpentering or coopering or smithing or another sort of work. This language reflects the way the work was perceived.

Richard Mendenhall on Tanning

By 1805, Richard had established a tannery in Jamestown on one of two adjoining town lots set aside for him by his father. On one of them, the lot facing Federal Street (now Main), he built his house, completing it in 1811. The sale shop and tan shop on the adjoining lot faced Union Street, which ran along the east side of the two lots, and they were south of and downhill from the house. At the bottom of the hill was the tan yard near a small branch that ran east for about a thousand feet into Deep River.² There is no record of tanning vats being found—or looked for—on the property. However, many leather scraps have been found.

A large bank barn stood on the east side of Union Street, probably built by Richard's brother, James, who owned that lot. It, Richard's 1811 house, the original tanning table, and a number of outbuildings, still stand at what is now called Mendenhall Plantation, operated as a museum by the Historic Jamestown Society. On the north side of present Main Street, cater-corner from the Mendenhall House, and in present High Point City Lake Park, stands a substantial brick store building built by Richard in 1824. Also in the park is a small meeting house built by the Mendenhall family about 1815.

Accounts kept by his executor, his brother George C., list many kinds of leather and hides in the inventory of Richard's estate. These included bearskins, sheepskins, collar leather, horsehide, upper leather, and heavy leather. A quantity of sole leather was set off as part of the widow's dower.³

Very near the end of his life, Richard wrote "Sketches on Tanning" in a copybook that shows signs of earlier use for another purpose. The manuscript was begun in December 1850 ("12th mo 1850"), and begun again on January 1, 1851 with sixteen pages written before the final version was initiated on January 2 and carried on until completion, which is undated. He died on May 8, 1851, and was buried at Deep River Meeting.

Endnotes

¹ *History, Correspondence, and Pedigrees of the Mendenhalls of England and the United States, Relative to their Common Origin and Ancestry...*, by William Mendenhall, and Edward Mendenhall, Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach & Baldwin, 1864, pp. 34-5.

² Richard Mendenhall's Estate Book, Folder 48, Hobbs and Mendenhall Family Papers (#2493). Southern Historical Collection, Manuscripts Department, Wilson Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

³ Ibid.

A Sketch on Tanning

By
Richard Mendenhall
1851

1st mo. 2d 1851¹

A Scetch on taning

First of Different kinds of hides

Hides taken from beeves that are kept generally in good plight make the most pliable and lively Leather, when not well kept the hides are hard close and tight, altho the beef may have been made fat before slaughtered or in other words the hides are not operated on so soon as the beef. Hides are composed of these Ingredients, Viz. fiber, or a tough thread Locked and crossed about the center of and animal gleuton or phosphoric matter together with Albumen interspersed and mingled through the fibrous entanglements: which last is compared to the white of an egg. of course will be somewhat hardened and stiffened by warming in water or ooze²—

The grain is a thinish envelop on the outside in which the roots of the hair are set and is composed more of the gleuton than the rest of the hide of course each hair starts from a liquid particle in and near the grain and is believed to weaken the texture at the time of shedding, altho these leathers may have a soft and nice appearance, being easily clensed of newly formed hair and Dirt by working in bate³ &c, hides from South America and Mexico when done and brought into market weighing from 20 to 40 lb each are sometimes rolled lightly and others are calld flint hides being harder to break soft. those weighing about 25 lb are the most suitable for sole: such as are very heavy are often bull hides more open and better adapted for band or belt leather when taned for that purpose and well set out or rolld to keep from stretching—

Hides from Laguina or Africa are not so large as those from Oronoco, pernambuco or Buenos Aires, tho fully as thick all make

good sole and good steer hides are to be preferred for solid soaleather that a bull hide may be filled by long tanning. Hides from south carolina reared in swamps and on wire grass are apt to be much tick and mosquitoes bitten making specks on the grain of a hard glossy appearances are thick firm and hard at the butt, the shoulder thin and flanky parts very thin—and when reared in oak land have had a nice grain but the ticks are making their way up the country since the woods have not been much burned, care should be taken to have them curried off the cattle They breed on the beast, and are a long sleepy tick, cause the Death of many cattle, by Imitating and occasioning febrile complaint and overflowing of the gall. sulphur mixed with salt for them to lick will cause many to Drop off—

They are working a kind of secret Distruction amongst stock where farmers are careless, and a great injury to leather in the appearance of skirting—

Hides from Northern climates seem to be the very reverse of those last mentioned the back not so thick as the other parts tho it is more firm and perhaps may in a measure be owing to a Different Breed of cattle as those of south america partake of the same cast; I believe the change both of hides and kine, arise from stock being continued in the North on good succulent grass and in the wilds of south america on reeds and other wholesome herbage for a series of years till there becomes a great difference even in calfskins, the belly part of which is much thicker tho not so firm as the back. It is said on good authority that if Drie hides are placed away in litter such as straw hay peavines or any trash that worms will not Disturb them. I have Diped them in lime water but with little or no effect tho told of that, as an effectual preventive—

Perhaps if Dipt a few times in strong lime Liquer it might form a coat and keep the Larva from breeding as skippers on bacon are prevented by Diping the flesh side of joints in a tub of lime water, but a preferable way to save joints of meat is the shorts from boulted flour spread on when about being hung up, the Damp or wet from the pickle will make the shorts into a paste and slightly coat it over by rubbing it on but I am Doubtful of its benefit to Leather. Tho the worms on hides are from a larger bug or flie they breed and moult and change from a cryseless to a worm in a short time in Damp warm weather, and one great anoyance to hatters store of peltry,⁴ salt is a great preventative but as that can be only used on the flesh side will

do but little for the grain side, which is almost the only part on which they operate, even Buffalo Robes Trunks &c are sometimes eaten if Damp and in Drieing will attract the flies—

Especial care should be taken in using hides that no iron comes in contact with the flesh side, I saw a calf skin taken into two pieces by being hung across a bar of iron all that touched it was entirely destroyed. I had a parcel of hides ruined on a boat by placing bars of iron between them to keep them compact on Deck. they came into small strips in the process of tanning and the bars of iron having kept them apart so as to admit the wet to all, they were utterly destroyed and kept coming to pieces more and more through every stage in tanning [ink blot] other case, some leaky barrels of tar put in a wagon on hides, the weight turned up the edges of the hide till the tar made its way to every one and filled the hair in patches so that they would neither soak lime or tan, those that had the iron on them, the broken part kept moultering wider and wider till they would scarcely make a shoe heel the edges being serated, and of a Ragged dirty looking tinge

On Skins

Skins and kips are distinguished from hides by being of small size. Kips are those of a year or year and half old. there are many kind of skins and of very great Difference in texture strength and kinds of service Calf skins are often the finest kind of shoes and boots mostly strong and good-- Sheep skins are not so strong as many other kinds, are easy tanned being open and suitable for Lining shoes making Morocco leather and pads for saddles or the like too weak for thong, good Mutton skins make pretty good Aprons for black smiths &c said to become thicker and weaker by over much tanning often being fully struck through but filling with the essence of bark will keep them from stretching so much yet if properly set out and tacked up they will be some [ink blot] firmer and thought to be Tougher—

Deerskins killed in the red or brig [ink blot] lue are best, they may be judged by feeling the neck if thick and close when drie they are good and will raise or thicken in tanning or Dressing, but if the neck is thin they will only fit for Light thong^s and if well stretch^d good Lining for shoes or boots, they appear to have a Double grain when shedding their hair and not so good there are some that feel so firm as

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to make good boots, By buffing off the grain lightly and blacking on the buffed side—

Mule skins make the strongest and toughest thong of any kind whatever and binding for shoes equal to a Deerskin—

Dog skins make good binding even tho flat are very tough for shoes may be either buffed or blacked on the grain—

Goat skins about the same as deerskins only more close and firm tough and good

Cat skins make good tough binding and as all the above might make nice fine shoes if Dressd for that purpose. Raccoon, panther, wolf wild cat and fox skins about the same—

On sinking Vats for tanning Limeing &c.

Pools about 7 feet Square and $3\frac{1}{2}$ Deep with a Trunk or tube under one end so that a hole of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches close in the corner will by Drawing a stake let the contents of the pool into the Trunk below it being placed in a bed of Tight blue mortar, the hole should be bored before the plank is raised high or the auger handle will not turn to make a strait hole then place one plank of about 2 inches thick after an other till finish^d observing to keep the mortar well Rammed. if it is let stand a day or two when a portion is put down, it will pack much closer, then add more plank till it is the proper highth, the Bottom may be clamped together By stakes on each side driven into clay below, and should be an inch or two lower at the corner where the hole is, so as to Drain off the middle of the plank may be braced by cross pieces to keep from bending in while packing the clay around then, two pools placed contiguous say 4 feet apart so as to fill and run of separte will be convenient as hides thrown from the lime into one may leave the other pure—

Vats may be sunk in the same way only a row sunk with two about a foot apart then about 3 feet apart then two a foot apart and so on, if hides are to be run from one to another with only one foot in every 2 and another row 4 or 5 feet from the first so as to give room for skimming and wheeling the exhausted bark away—

The yard should be sunk on ground high enough to drain pools and lime, at the bottom. lime vats $3\frac{1}{2}$ wide is a good size board nailed slanting across the corner as high as rest to keep too much trash or hair from runing in and choking the trunk when the stake is Drawn—

It is said that pieces of Lathe nailed or pined up on the outside of the plank will keep the top from rising with the hard freezing, a pin put about the middle from one vat to another will keep the top from bendin in if well wedged on the inside if top plank should rise they must be pounded Down in the Spring first cleaning the joint if the clay is good vats may be sunk from the row if jointed with a plane and made tight at the end rabbits either dove tailing or halving It is said to be full as cheap but then the clay must be well put down New vats will some times stain Leather but does not injure it wear—

a tan yard will be most convenient to Drain off if not exactly Level especially if small Troughs are strung along at the end of the Vats for conveying water or ooze They are to be level with the top of Vats and if about 4 inches wide and Deep will not be in the way of wheelbarrows but may be crossed with ease. they may be covered if much trash or bark should obstruct them A hole and plug to each vat will be useful. The pools should be at the highest end of the yard so as to let clear water run into any in that form of a yard the Vats next the pool can be used as latches,⁶ by leting the water run in at one end and the ooze out at the other but the water should be conducted by a tube to the bottom of the Vat and let the ooze out near the top into the Trough and thence into the next Vat and so on renewing till the Liquor is just of the strength Desired, as the water is lighter than ooze it should be hampered with bark or something take a basket or riddle⁷ to spread the water and feed back from rings so fast as to run out, but for the Liquor to run without being weakened—

On soaking and limeing hides & skins

The length of time for soaking Depends much on the state of the weather and water, if warm salted hides will do to break in 12 or 15 hours, but in a cold time 3 or 4 days for hard and flinty hides will not be too long they should be Drawn from the pool and if geting soft ought to be either milled or broke, either way they should be made entirely soft and pliable and will be mostly of a whiteish colour on the flesh side. skins of all kinds when dried require the same attention. it is a good way to break all kinds over crossways to stretch them perfectly before puting them into lime or they will not receive either the lime or tan ooze every spot not well broken will show itself through the whole process even to the shoemakers knife and will be starky Dark and liable to cut the thread, and of course the want of receiving the tanin will be lighter in weight—

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When hides are fully soft they may be thrown into Lime not too strong or hard at first, as a softish lime from whence a peck is just taken care being taken to draw them up twice the first 24 hours and then once a Day for 3 or 4 Days in warm weather, and then once in 2 Days, after the hides have taken lime as it is called they will show it by being a little more plump or swelled. if the lime is too weak they will have black streaks on the flesh side showing signs of staining. in that case spread them out and sprinkle with lime drawing them directly into the lime again or strengthen the lime and draw often and the Dark streaks will Vanish hides will look bluish on the flesh, the hair easily slipped off and a plump swelled appearance-- the length of time required for Liming Depends on the weather, from one to 3 weeks. A green hide may be timed in 3 or 4 days in hot weather often drawing strong Lime &c or even less time for a green skin, but such Quick way is not required unless a hide or two comes to hand green after a pack is far underway of Liming and nearly the last expected for the season, then may be hurried by working the blood out while soaking the lime will set it in the hide and prevent a clear fair appearance of the Leather when tanned—

When green hides come to the yard first turn and weigh observing if much forked in skinning Deducting in price accordingly, they should be split with a knife from the nose up to the middle of the forehead then slantingly from the eye holes to the first split and all will lay flat, throw them into clear fine water soak them 12 hours in warm or 24 in cool time flesh of the lumps and soak again if the blood is not completely out if to be put in lime on after then soaking they may be salted and Rolled then hung up and dried.

Green hides should be brought to the tanner with horns ears and Dewclaws on them rolled up with the sides and head folded in then the purchaser may cut away the Burr of the ear skin the tail by splitting it to the point of the bone placing his foot on the point of the bone and striping it and taking out the bone cutting it in pieces at the Joints some are very fond of them roasted or given to the Dog, a small rich lump of tallow is at the burr of the ear which if saved when fresh hides are collected briskly may be tried out for use in this way the horns for the Manufacture of combs cups spoons needle cases &c tails for ropes Mattresses and may use the hides and skins may be boned [?] with ears on for glue but it is more convenient to cut them off when soaking but would make glue or tire for hatters or leather in

finishing so will the nuckles or Dewclaws if limed. Some tanners by hides about half a cent lower in the ___ when not limed as the offel is more of a convenience to others than proffit to tanners, skins if thin should be broken on a tide thrown smoothly over the beam to keep from Breaking the grain. when hides are split and Drawn with a Reel a string may be cut from the part near the fore or hind leg about $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch broad and a foot long to tie them together to reel up one turning and on other pulling with a hook keep them strait, if whole 2 have to catch each hind shank.

On Water. Different Quallities

Some water is impregnated with lime some with Iron Copper, and other Minerals; such as Lead Manganese Coperas, and many compounds, some of which will search their way into Bate Vats and stain the hides or skins black in spots, perhaps from a portion of coperas=like ore Diffused in and about the place where the yard is sunk. A kind of Decayed stone of a greenish or yellow cast is found in the most of Red hills and seem to be of a coperas kind by analyzing, it will at wet times make its way into pools or bates &c in a small portion of Dirty yellow ranceous bubbling water and will stain the hides that lay on the bottom, the staining matter will impregnate the bottom Plank, and of course will blacken such parts of the hide as lay on the bottom Such water as passes in the ground Vains through Iron or Manganese ores will give fresh bark a Dark Tinge the water of a bluish cast it is avoided by some taners but often being strengthened a time or two with bark it will effect but Little as to appearance, I have thought the tinge given is more from Dried sap on the bark or being Quicker desolved. tho Iron tools will stain the bark throughout, yet from constant use of the oze is not sour the taste will become bronzed and do but little harm.

Limestone water will make solid sole but is often too hard for upper Skins or the like till the oze is mellowed by standing a while Robbing handles if no good letch Liquor is at hand

On bark and shoemack &c.

There are many quallities of bark such as chesnut oak white and spanish oaks: these are Denominated clean bark as they will not make leather yellow, the first is of more strength than the others white oak spends Quicker than the other, two there are bottom land spanish oak and what is called swamp white oak, the former bears a large acorn in the form of a short cylinder, the latter a leaf resembling that

of a chesnut, both are also clean bark, but the real black oak mostly grows on a fertile soil, is an open Mellow kind and strongest of all barks, makes a mellow good upper leather and is the kind preferred when ground up in hogsheds and sent Leeds in England for dieing fine cloth—

Sand or turky oak bears a small acorn fitted for wild Turkeys to eat grow mostly on poor sand grain yields a tough stringy bark and frazzles in grinding is not so strong makes an ooze that seems rough to the taste it has a white appearance when first striped and turns Quite red when drie—

There is a kind called red oak appears red on chopping to strip bears a larger acorn than sand oak, is a tolerable bark but far behind the black oak, or as the Diers call it Quer citron, the three parts will make oozes with a blossom but not yellow nor do either look of a yellow cast when first stuck in the scar of the ax or as the black oak does—

All kinds of bark should be striped as early as it well can be in the spring season as the sap starting each warm Day through the winter receives a chill and settles back into the bark and wood and so continues till flooded up in spring soaking out all the Vegetable gluton to form a new coat on the tree when bark is taken off it should be thrown with the in side to the sun half a Day or the like and should then be piled off the ground slanting so as to shed rain if it is somewhat Damp some pieces may be put cross ways to let the air pass when bark is Damaged it will be of much Disadvantage as the same work will be Required in grinding and general use; and the leather not well taned as most of taners apply the bark by set rules—

Late stripped bark will show Dark spots in places as if Tainted and yet by circulation carried to Distinct spots, sand oak may be pretty much spoiled and yet retain a tolerable bright red colour, sometimes there will be spots of a bright pale colour on the inside and require close Inspection to notice and yet be entirely Dead exhausted and of no use only for fire while the rest will be bright and good on the same piece—

Hemlock bark makes a red colour leather grows in northern and mountainous regions Not equal to oak tanage and yet proved higher by some and for some uses but the flanky part is mostly soft—

Shoemack should be saved by cuting the stem of the present year groth that is of the sweet kind, with a white leaf on the

underside, while the strength is yet in it. Just before the berries begin to form throw it in the sun till evening gather it and finish drier in the shade when carefully Done it may be packed away for years, or fit for use so soon as dried let it be thresh^d on a floor and the stems raked out, the broken leaves may be boiled in a brass kittle for tanning skins, or may be mixt with bark or used by itself in the usual way of tanning. The note or balls on the leaves are said to be the best part of it, but Berries should be carefully gathered out before threshing if any should be gathered or they will have a tendency to stain shoemack of the Poison kind has a noxious green appearance and is to be avoided for tanning, hides will become Dark and even black if let Lay more than a month in warm weather,--care should be taken that all the bulk is Dry before weighing or packing away, least there be a few bunches to green that will injure more -- I have known skins Taned in a week by boiling as mentioned above and when the Liquor is a little over blood warm by stretching and wringing shakeing out and again and again pushing them under the liquor a quick way to finish tanning them for Morocco of the black kind, Red Morocco is said to be taned in kettles of strong Liquor and cocheneal so as to tan and coulor at once, the skins being laced into bags and filled with shoemack

Italian shoemack is powdered fine, put in boxes, is used to finish tanning harness in handling after tanning to give it a fair colour, and make it plump—

Skins may be taned very fair and white with liquor or leaves of that kind—

It is said that huckleberry leaves will tan—

On bateing hides and skins

If hides are limed whole either by 2 hands Drawing them in by the hind shanks and so soon as the head falls in throw the hands up and back then forward and the hides gathering wind go down right with a Quick movemen keep Down with 2 sticks when done split put them in a pool and unhair or if Rolled up on a reel then they are ready split and may be unhaired and fleshed but if for upper Leather they may be Laid flat one on another and weight laid on to press them overnight and shave them or other curying put them again into the pool and if the water is soft they may be Drawn up Daily till they become soft and slippery or so that by pinching them on the grain with thumb and finger the Dent will remain, but may be worked on

the flesh side some sooner 2 or three times well working with a sharp smooth knife will take out the Dirt and fine hair and fit them for ooze if they are come Down and are thin and flabby and well clensed, if the water is hard or very cold then it will be best to make a bate by taking a peck of Poltry Dung soaking it in a tub and having it well mashed up, then pour it in a Vat about half the usual sise, if the hides are tied together and a Division in a vat for the purpose then runing hides and skins out of one part into the other through Rolors it will soon bring them Down and less working may do. Muddy water (if free from Minerals) which is from ___left in the pool, will bring down hides sooner than hard fresh water, and is to be preferred, -- as the little matter of lime left after hides have been thrown in and the water runing out will tend to break and soften the water and take the Lime out of the hides but of strength of lime is left in the pool it will stock the hides, and keep them from bating as lime thrown in will keep them back if they cannot be worked out by sabath, sickness or the like, not an advised way a case of necessity only, it is not common to make a bate for soleather as it need not be Brought down so low as Harness upper or skins - It is mostly a criticle time at the wind up of bating whether with water or prepared bate—

it is understood that a thunder storm will cause bate hides to run on the grain tho doubted by some, yet as it will turn milk sour and stop beer from working also the firing of cannon is practiced for raising Persons drowned, and the firing of a Piston near a blue die stoped it from working so that it could not be brought to work again, and an Iron placed across working beer will serve as a preventative perhaps it may be all correct and possibly if Iron was placed around a bate in such way as to receive the electric shock it might serve the same purpose

hides should be fleshed while plump from the line as a solid fleshing in that state will have a good effect in makin the leather more mellow or soft when taned—

Some store the bate hides on the grain the first time and work with the knife twice others store all together - not very material which I have seen both ways practiced—

On handleing upper leather and skins

When properly clensed of Lime and Dirt, the bated hides will have a nice white appearance and may be put into an ooze either by having one softened a week or two and stird each Day or if taned

leather has just been Drawn, and the Vat skimmed out nearly they may be rinsed off by handling in that 2 or 3 days then put in an ooze such as mentioned refreshing with a little bark in both cases if of a weak appearance known by a paleish colour and the progress in colouring they should be Drawn 2 or 3 times each Day and immediately on first putting them Down observing if they colour fast, - Draw oftener the ooze where first put Down should be weak so as not to spot them, tho should be gradually made stronger for if very strong at first it will Draw the grain in patches and set it so as to remain yet should have strength enough at least after the first day to produce a nice flesh coloured tinge on the grain, if neglected and becomes spotted very much even the high colour will never be got even as where the grain is Drawn it will keep ahead of the rest—

Care should be taken to observe the colour of the Liquor so as to keep it gradually so strong, as the hides will bear Handlers should be kept up with fresh Bark weekly and oftener in warm weather, if leather is suffered to fall in the handlers it cannot be made into mellow plump leather—

Handleing leather in sour Liquer will bloat the flanky and belly part, then if taned out in sweet ooze it will be tolerably good and plump of course a little heavier than if wholly tan^d in sour Liquor but it is conceded by all that sweet ooze makes the best and Latest of any other but should not be taned entirely in water changes, at every turning three Layers of about an inch thick, of ground bark will tan upper, if well handled, till the grain is begining to harden, say 6 weeks in handler, with good Liquor, two Layers if shaved in the lime, that is Just when unhaired oozes will keep prety well if made new in the fall till June 6th mo following if hides should be put in them, from the bate after 2 sets in winter they had better be cleaned out, and made new with letch liquor Tho may be kept on if bark is used, and well skimmed out some attention to keep ooze good and clean is necessary if Vats are not covered in hard frosty weather the top plank or sill rising up will turn the ooze black on top I have known them rise so as to become necessary to throw away the ooze and wisp in hay into the Joint in cold climate and fill again-- but a small rising of an Inch or two if the Vat is sunk in good clay is not alarming, minding to pound them down in time of a thaw if not nailed outrite as mentioned handles, beds as they a call^d are made by covering half the Vat with boards and throwing on tan, that is exhausted bark,

leaving a board set slanting at the end braced with a block or stone and all that part covered raising the tan so as to cover the slanting board, and full at each edge so that when hides are Drawn all the Drippings will be conducted into the Vat and handle the hides on that if whole or split, then when put down Lay loose boards over the ballance of the Vat, or eye of the handles as it is called, sprinkling tan of clean bark around and over the joints of the loose boards, Drawing them once in two Days, if very freezing and the hides fully colour^d but in southern climate and springs and summers handling it is customary to make a bridge of scantlings or puncheons across the middle, and handle from both ends, observing to keep the pack so narrow as to let the side Dripings fall into the Vat when hides are handled 2 weeks or the like they may, except in freezing weather Lay up over night and so may hides in lime or of cloudy Days, having a care they do not become Dry, at the folds, which will be of much injury, but more so in liming the last of which was omitted under that head. when hides or sides are Drawn flat one on another the old or exhausted Liquor that will remain about them will be pressed out and ready to receive new if the Vat is well plunged or stired up in pressing Down the rinkles should be shook out and thrown so as to gather wind then by one edge Drawn quietly under

Harness sheepskins or such as is wanted open may have the tanning process much expedited by throwing them over a poll and leting freeze overnight, having a care not to break the grain in puting them back into liquor,

When leather is handled 6 weeks harness being of heavy hides such as weigh 40 and upwards should have 4 layers. Vats of the form Described will allow the back part of the hide to be even and strait along the side of vat and cover it over, first throwing in 2 bushels of bark dry to keep the first side affloat in the Vat a little over half full of ooze, then Lay a way with a brisk hand, allowing the butt to go even close to the end, and the head Double over at the other end with bark between the double which is useful to keep the body of the leather bolstered so as to lay loose, and to keep the leather level in Laying away. If a Vat is over 3½ feet wide the belly part of hide will cause the middle to gain in highth and will not lay well

General remarks on tanning—

A wealthy youth of Philadelphia having observed in the course of 7 years aprentiseship that tan thrown away retained

colouring matter, sat up business for himself on a large scale, for that Day, had large Vats prepared as latches into which he threw all the Bark from tanned Leather adding water and plumping to supply his yard, his soleleather pleased customers as it was hard and seemed firm but the upper and skins would crack and break short at the bend of the shoe, inso much that he nearly failed—

It is a saying amongst experienced taners that he who spares bark or oil will never get rich, yet upper and harness and skins may be overdone with oil so as to injure the appearance, Harness and sole should be well filled with bark - if leather is let lie in the last Layer 2 or 3 months the ooze will sour in summer and even eat off the yellow muddy sediment that should be scoured off. the leather is hard to scour from a strong handler if shaved and handled but if continued till the ooze in which it is thus handled after it is tan^d becomes weak and soft it will be more easily removed—

On soleleather

soleleather made hard by sour oze is much prized for its firm feeling but I have ever Doubted its wearing equal with that of Lively fresh ooze some lay away in a Water ooze the last Days to harden it—

Soaleather limed lightly and tanned with 6 or 7 Layers is the best kind some colour sole by laying away in tan as soon as it can be got ready from the lime Lightly fleshing and working over on the grain, then having the tan on one side ready and the sides on the other lay down briskly or it will sink away 2 Bs of dry bark thrown into a Vat at first will help to keep it up - some Dirt away in fork lightly then Draw it in two weeks, but if in tan not more than 4 or 5 Days, this will tan sooner or the lime remaining in the hide keeps it open to receive the bark. Vulgarly called Line cod, Dimple sole is handled as other leather tho not brought so tan in bateing. sweet Leather is taking the hair of without lime, either by folding the hides or hanging them in an empty Vat covering with board and tan examining at a corner of the Vat when the hair will slip, hurry them into strong Liquor—

in case of a failure the hides being ready soft may be put in lime strong enough to save them, and proceed in the usual way either by reeling or Drawing with a hook a late custom is to Double hides for limeing nicely lengthwise with the hair in side them making split at the head along the neck a foot in length, where it is to be Divided

through when finished, the top hides slip the back into split and turn back again Draw one on another & raise it up on the bed prepared, so as to keep the lime Liquor running back at the sides of the hides observing to shorten them or Drown them pressing Down with a poll placed in the split turn the hides over back in the pit in this way the hands may be kept from the Lime or in reeling or with the hook they may be kept flat and the Double should be changed as it will be thicker and make the pile a slant if kept to one side in Drawing—

It is usual for taners to finish out and prepare soleather for market even where currying is a seperate Business, after fully taned cover it tand in yellow bark with a slicker on the flesh side a stone of the Novaculite of about querciton [?]. Put on the grain hang up till nearly Dry if any parts is over half Dry Dampen set out with the stone. some put on a smear of oil then Dry it but if it is Dried and Dipt in a strong Decoction of bark and put under the Roller it will more effectually Let it out and Drive the taning matter to every fiber comeing to weigh a little more, and be much better and more convenient for the shoemaker It was and old custom to Dry it then Dip it in ooze and place Down in pass to shorten it and let lie a Day or two then hang and Dry it

Many are in practice of working the flesh side on the beam after it has a bark or two, and is a good way and so is that of leting pass a few hours or over night fellowd Down before Laying Down as it passes out the exhausted water and prepares the leather to receive the Liquir if a Vat is let stand over night for the purpose as is a little over half full only they will Draw black water in many yards, a small matter of which will be over powered by good ooze and not stain, if very much it will colour the leather some pour in $\frac{1}{2}$ a Br of salt in the Vat Just before laying away other mingle salt with the bark. I never saw it come and it be good for leather and Weight.

Every thing should be kept clean about a tan yard as if it were to be eaten the offal of hides &c as well the offal of provisions excepted, and kept in their proper places

Some put about a pint of porte on the flesh side of sole and work it well in with a brush and roll it as that stiffens, making a very smoothe flesh—

I have thought that if the flanks of Leather were once bloated with sour Liquor that they will not fill with the essence of bark to advantage but that adding strong liquor was like adding more lime to

sand for mortor the more the weaken of just so much as can well adhere to the fiber of the hide and so with sheepskins or any open kind of leather

I am told that soleather laid away with Hemlock twigs or coarse ground bark between oak side and, pump the old Liquor out at one corner of the Vat and fill again with fresh strong Letch ooze was practiced in some yards—

As the flanky parts of hides and skins is always easier taned than the solid part and over tanning especially in sour Liquor will bloat them and become almost useless excep for filling up between soles and blinds and if kept back in tanning would be thinner and stronger which is the case with sheepskins and upper both of which if over taned will be more bricke^l in using.

I have thought much on it and the flanky parts being loose may be set tolerably smooth and with a keen edge to the knife cause a firm appearance yet will soon bloat in a shoe if wet, it would be much better to keep these parts from becomeing so thick, as tough thin leather is far better than thick and spungy. could a plan be accepted to prevent that puffing of the flanks.

I will suggest that if in laying away after handling in sweet ooze the skimmings of handles, Letches or the bark. Just skimmed from a water ooze prefaced by soaking a Day or two, was laid ready and seperate from the bark Intended for Laying in with, was thrown to the belly and flanks if it would keep them from geting so much as to puff up, and be a remaining Injury. The thick parts of upper and calfskins will finish more smoothe if they are what the taners call Dead tanes but will be more short, If upper or skins lay long before made into shoes if exposed will break in Wearing. but of all the leather Destroyers some of the late kinds of Varnish put on shoes and harness without a good coat of greece pate or Tallow under it to fill the leather is the most Distructive, shoes warn much in red mud are much Injured if the Iron Quallity that is in all red Lands is not kept from adhereing by being well attende to by cleaning off and greace of a thick kind or tar bee wax or tallow or all mixt—

The spirits of turpentine in the Varnish runs through the leather and sever the fiber its compound of Ivory black $\frac{1}{2}$ oz , gum shelack, so Desolved with Alchcohol equal or nearly eql Quantities the black strewd in and soaked together, this last in heavy only

Hulball is a preservative to leather consists of one lb of tallow and about $\frac{1}{2}$ an Eggshel of Lampblack and bees wax about the same if in warm weather less if cold, a little brown sugar stird in will give a gloss

On Currying and Dressing Leather

When leather for upper is taned through so as to have no clear streak on being cut at the naval or Jaw it will be fully done at times if the pate of calfskins has not been knived or shaved Down while tanning it may be taned enough altho a small part may not be completely struck through

hang the upper or skins on a poll, tho not much in hot sunshine, till some Dry take Down and packe it away by the curing beam—

Shave and flat it then scower or throw it into a good clean strong ooze if not so fully done and as that gets weak if handled some it will be easier cleaned with a punch and stone some scower and throw into a barrel of clear water then scower over and hang tight with the back up by nails pins or hooks to the Joist in scowering when a side is spread length ways on the table run the stone or slicker to each shank placing them about in their proper position having pulled the back up to the edge of the table and as short as can be conveniently done then commence first with the stone then with the slicker hang as mentioned till half Dry take Down and fold by the Table seting out and greasing one side after another well with the slicker on the grain in the same way as scowering oil it over nearly half a pint to a side less or more on large or small turn it over and set out the flesh side in same way then smear on the like Quantity of Dubben and hang as before or it may be hung over polls in a sellar or shade when the grease is fully gone in take down and set out well on the Table hang up and Dry the last seting make the grain smooth and will raise much finer in finishing some cut away a little of the flank in any part of the mentioned operations when it cannot be gathered so as to lay completely flat on the table,

making Dubben Depends some on the weather about one lb of tallow of common hardness to a Quart of oil is about the proportion, Melt the tallow and pour it into the oil and be carefull to stir it at times till it cools, or it will cruddle, if it should it had best be melted one all together and then stir till cool—

Oil of the ritchest kind is called Liver oil is procured on the banks of newfound Lan⁹ from the Liver of cod fish thrown in a tub or barrel let stand till it rots oil poured off—

Sperm oil is clear looks nice is better for Lamp than leather as it is more liable to run through it making it spotted.

Hump=back is a good oil not Quite so high a red as the liver oil, seal oil is often used it is procured by finding seals on an Island asleep and over powering them with Bludgeons and trying out¹⁰—

Common Whale oil is often used and mostly tried out at sea another kind is called shore oil sometimes in winter stiff almost as hogs Lard—

Any of the oils will make blacking for leather it should have nearly half a pound to 6 Quarts of oil adding Dubbin or tan ooze to stiffen it if near so as that by lifting the paddle up with which it is stired and running it over the pot of black what Drips will leave a little ridge or figure on the face of the blacking and it will be ready for use to be put on with a brush & Quick hand after the leather is set out Dry boarded whitened with the knife to take off the sediment of the Dubben and borded again stained &c-- then hang up the leather till the black soaks in then brush all the black off that will come whisking away the little lumps with a rag or cow tail, or the like keeping all clean, it is best to lay the Largest side next the table to keep the black from geting away or between the sides in blacking, then rub or brush off the surplus black, some lay hides length ways on the table If sizing is ready then the first time with a brush, then Dry it in. Some try to make it smoothe by rubing while Damp, then a second sizeing when Dry rub again and it is Done the last rubing is with a gloss slicker on smooth piece of wood—

Double stuffing is puting the leather into an ooze after it is stuffed and Dry, then Drain and shave lightly scower and stuff as before, Whiten lightly, and not at all if to be finished water proof, that is by stuffing with tar instead of tallow in the Dubben with a little bees wax ½ ounce to a quart stewd together size is made many ways, by soaking gum in alchohol Spirits of wine &c Boiling Shanks pates &c straining through a handfull of straw melting and when cold stiring in a little Dubben and stiring till cool; common pate &c using a brush first time

There is also a vegetable black or rather a stain made as follows for the flesh side or as it is called wax skins or upper leather,

one gill of flaxseed one pint of Heli-anthus, or sunflower seed 2 quarts of Break Top, or fern of the fine Frazley kind, with dark coloured Roots, the coarse fern is not so good, pressd a half gallon full, green; when used or cut green or cured, put them in a small close sack then boil in a kettle of soft water 8 qts about one hour finely keeping the sack all the time covered with water, then wring out the sack so as to leave all the essence in the water then add a teaspoonful of the oil of hemlock and coperas the size of a walnut then boil on till it is reduced to about 1 pint let it cool then put in 3 quarts of soft water in a separte kittle and one quart of old soap stir them till well mixt. then boil moderately and skim off the froth and stir in a third of a pound of Lampblack. let it boil 5 minits moderately then add to this last mixture first made Decoction, then the whole together led it boil gently 1 minit,--

It may be put away in Jugs or Jars and put on the leather with a brush and finished off in the usual way—

Milky persley or Poison shoemack in place of fern or all mint will answer very well, perhaps nut galls and many other such like things as are used for Ink might do equally well—

The soap in this way may not Injure leather but I have always been fearfull of any alkaly such as asker lime dye or the like I have tried it and am not able to state any Injury, tho have used much of all the Ingrediants named excep nut galls—

Grain black

There are many kinds of grain black, but none known to me that will do no Injury. Coperas water the worst, but much Depends on the state of the Leather when put on, it is mostly Done with a brush, but take the long hair of a cow tail and knot it up into a wad by constantly turning in the stragling parts and it will make a good substitute for a brush even leaving a small kind of handle on the top to catch between the thumb and finger for skins or light work and for more large sides allow the weight of the hand to rest on it—

take an Iron pot of about 6 qts or 2 gallons fill it 2 thirds full of sharp tan ooze, beer or Vinegar of a clean looking kind and place in about a pound or two of clean Iron, nails and horseshoes &c the rust if any being worked off stand it in the sun half a Day or more stirring a few times let it stand longer or shorter time then Damp the leather with good ooze, then if there is much greace on it it must be eaten off with ashes or soap suds but if it has not been long from the

Vat it will receive the black without by wetting with ooze the chamberlie is preferred and dipped in ooze then wet over with chamberlie and follow on with the black then work and slick of the ashes if any then oil it over and hang it up till nearly Dry minding to set it out at every stage of blacking till oiled take it down and rub it over with Tallow or set it out with a strong hand strait forward and crossing and slantingly to take out all the neck wrinkles if possible by bearing hard with the right hand taking only an inch or two at a time

Some prefer Dubbin instead of oil which will be a substitute for the tallow as mentioned rubbing all of with a clean rag—

Blackening skins and Band and bag leather much the same, but add a small portion of the shugar of Lead for Morocco skins—

On Tools for tanning purpose and the mode of using them

The best kind of a flesher is made of an old mill saw a piece 2 feet Long made Hollowing and Rubbing on pieces at each end with a tong for a handle to be put on, a knife with but one edge for a worker for unhairing and working bates and with a little more crook on Bowings, say 4 Inches for a flesher and 5 for a worker, to be sharp and smoothe the rounding side of the flesher also sharp and smoothe some times wheting with a steel and that edge is used for sciving thick pates necks and the out edge of a thick butt, Navel and occasional tough strings of flesh—also for sciving Horse hides before Limeing, as practiced by some,

a lime hook made with tong and nub let into the handle with 2 Rings to hold it is better than a socket—

The handler hooks mostly made with a horn on the end the point of the horn turning a little to the left when the handle is in the right hand prise the top piece gently up catch with left let the hook fall back catch with the right hand turn it till the tail part is about the middle between the hands Lay it gently about a foot on the handler bed or bars then let the hands fall back taking hold of the hide with the sides folded in, raise it all up and throw then take a hold with a double throw the stretched part up three double on the bed bridge or bars, so on, one or another there till all is up that is of whole hides and standing astride of the Vat lie and press as the weather and state of the hides will bear if fresh or on cloudy or hot sun—

In putting Down after stirring the Liquor pull in the head part then take hold of both sides a foot from the butt Draw it back till

comes off the butt Dropping Down first the body of the Hide will gather wind slide it gently back with the stick or hook which lays against the right foot as it goes back and under the wind will escape, some nearly hook them up in a pile but in that case there is but little advantage in pressing out the old ooze the good roler will forego all this if the hides are tied together

a beam for breaking fleshing and working hides is made of a heavy slab from the sawmill or a hollow tree 15 inches through split open and set on cross slanting, but so low as to let the weight of the boddy help to press the knife if high so that all is Done with the strength of the arms it will be more tiresome it should not be quite so high as the waist—

The cast bark mill said to be Tobits patten is the most expeditious and if kept in good hang will do much the best work of any of the many Inventions that have come to my knowledge—

a stone set on edge with 2 Iron bars set edgeways, a wheel with wooden or Iron cogs have been used and still are where foundarys are Distant

It is worthy of Notice that tan ooze tho made very strong will if not often stired, become Dark and even black on the top of Handlers or the heading on Vat laid away that is some bark nearly exhausted as is commonly spred over the top to keep off the hot rays of the sun &c preserve the hides from staining near the Top,

Weak Liquor turns black sooner than strong, as the oxigin or some feculeney in the atmosphere has more power over it but all having an affinity for the feruginous Quality of oxygin or other matter affloat in the air will attract and amalgamate with it in a short time Rain and Dews bringing Down various arial feculeney may have much effect in expediting the Injurious effect on tanning Liquors

It has been mentioned by some that if Vats were completely covered it might prevent the tanning quallity from escapeing, but I have thought it more material to prevent its bibulous Disposition and thirst for the Atmosphere

Tan yards are mostly said to be healthy, and I have never known a person have the Intermittant fever who was much amongst the Dust of bark—and have supposed that Quantities of bark or tan thrown out about a tan yard attracted the Malaria with other settled properties of air was the cause of health, but it may be only the effect of bark Dust in the breath &c

It is said that a pint of oil of Vitriol poured in to lime Vat and well stired will suddenly puff the hides and cause them to unhair much sooner than they would, and the same quantity put into a Vat and stired Just as about to be laid away will from its ascidifying property cause the leather to be much sooner tanned; also to keep it open to receive more essence of bark and be heavier when done—

Leathers tanned in that way or in sour Liquor, will be more springy or elastic similar to that of cork wood, feel hard and yet not so firm but makes a good bottom for shoes when made with pegs—

If leather is shaved either in Lime, bate, or handler, or first Lyen, it should not be put into a strong Liquor at first, or it will form a crust hard to shave again and Ruff to the knife—

It has been said by taners that the sooner Leather is tanned the better after the first week or two—if that is correct shaving in lime will save much bark—

I have thought that open or shaved leather admitted coarser particles of the Vegetabl Gleuton to amalgamate with the fiber of the hide, and of course not so close filling as more fine and not so well retained in using

Splitting Machines are much in use in places and save much in the breadth of Leather, as enough for a pair or two of shoes is taken off at the thick part of the hide, in an early stage of tanning

If splitting is done exactly at the center of the hide both pieces will be much weakened as the Lock of the fiber will be severed—

The back of a side is more short than the other part and not so tough as along the middle or toward the belly of course not so good for hame strings and the like

I had 7 or eight sides blacked on the grain all went through the same process in whole operation of tanning and all snugly blacked with clear Sour ooze and Iron with a very small matter of copersas Desolved in it first Damping it so as kee[p] the black from penetrating it so that the grain was not coulered half through, yet one side and one only of the lott has a brittle grain and would break half through by Doubling staps when cut off for about 6 inches along the back the rest of the side good and tough—

I know not why but have thought that the hide might have been thrown length ways over a poll and exposed to hot sun till the greace was melted next the poll on the sunny side and settled into the hide and gave it a scald so as not to become mellow in Breaking or

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Tanning—or if the creature had not been kept in a good and thrifty way for some time before slaughter, if so the hide might have made firm soleather—

It may not be amiss to mention that if rollers are over heavy they will crack the grain in handling in that way especially often the sides become nearly filled and the grain hardened

the top roller turned smooth about 15 Inches through and 4 feet long. the under roller 9 or 10 Inches in Diameter

¹ Richard Mendenhall On Tanning, Folder 75, pp. 17-43, Hobbs and Mendenhall Family Papers (#22493), Southern Historical Collection, Manuscripts Department, Wilson Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. A copy of the full document is in the Friends Historical Collection, Hege Library, Guilford College.

² Ooze, an infusion of oak bark, sumac, etc. *Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, 1971.

³ Bate, to soak (leather) after liming in an alkaline solution to soften it and remove the lime. Ibid.

⁴ Peltry, Pelts or skins, collectively; skins with the fur on them. Ibid.

⁵ Thong, a narrow strip of leather used especially as a fastening or as the last of a whip. Ibid.

⁶ This may refer to a latch, or a means of closing off the flow.

⁷ Riddle, a coarse sieve. Ibid.

⁸ Brickle, easily broken; brittle. Ibid.

⁹ Newfoundland.

¹⁰ Trying and trying out, melting down fat or blubber to obtain oil.

ALPHEUS MARTIN BRIGGS & HENRY CLAY BRIGGS

Introduction by Mary A. Browning

Alpheus Martin Briggs (1857-1936), Henry Clay Briggs (1858-1947), and John R. Briggs (1860-1917) were each known widely enough around the western part of Guilford Co. to be recognized as one of "The Briggs Brothers." They led lives active in business and religious affairs, and the two older ones wrote a number of local history essays.¹

They were sons of Benjamin Franklin Briggs (1829-1864) who was associated with a family-owned buggy shop in Jamestown. As children, in the last year of Civil War, they went with their widowed mother, Phebe Ledbetter Briggs, on a frightening and exhausting wagon journey through Confederate lines to Indiana, but, war over, the family returned to the neighborhood that had come to be called Florence near Deep River Meeting.

It was a neighborhood where the mechanical arts had long been rated highly, many of them depending upon power supplied by Deep River and its branches. As young men, the brothers followed in their father's footsteps by manufacturing buggies and carriages. They established their business and their homes in Florence and near Deep River Meeting, where they were all members. Many of their descendants are still active and prominent in the meeting.

Alpheus married Mary Richardson. Their children were Mary Hazel, who married William Dockery; Eugene Leroy, who married Louise Collier; and John Gurney, who married Hazel Harmon.

Henry, often called "H. C." married Isla Horney. Their children were Bertha May, who married Ernest White; Mary Bessie, who married Sam Carter; Oriana, who first married William James and, after his death, Floyd Ross; Maude, who married Clarence Thornton; Isla Evelyn, who married Reid Goodson; Henry Franklin, who married Essie May Hodgin; Winifred, who married Ralph Thornton; and Clarkson, who died as a child.

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John married Alice Ledbetter and they had one daughter, Joy, who never married.

As the nearby city of High Point grew to become a manufacturing center toward the end of the century, the brothers moved their business there, and Alpheus and Henry moved their places of residence there, too. Brother John moved to Greensboro and severed his connection with the business.

While Alpheus became an active member of High Point Meeting of Friends, he also served for twenty years as clerk of Deep River Quarterly Meeting. He was later remembered as one to be counted on if a dangerous or disagreeable task needed handling.

Henry Clay maintained his old connection with Deep River Friends, active in many capacities, especially the practical work of upkeep and maintenance, and he was remembered as one who served as an example of a useful life.

As chroniclers of the lives and times of nineteenth century southern Quakers, their work will continue to live on.

¹ Based upon "The Briggs Brothers" in *Deep River Friends: A Valiant People*, by Cecil E. Haworth, North Carolina Friends Historical Society, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Deep River Meeting, 1985, pp. 74-78.

Brief Sketch of the Beard Hat Shop¹

By

Alpheus M. Briggs

The making of hats was developed in Paris in 1404 by a Swiss. These hats were made of beaver fur in many shapes and styles, often lined with red velvet, with a rich plume of feathers, and became very popular, especially with the nobility. This style continued in popular use for some three centuries, then the felt hat became the common every day wear of the people.

Now there is no longer such a thing as a genuine beaver hat. Hats of today are fashioned of an endless variety of material, chiefly rabbit with a small proportion of beaver, mink, musk rat, and camel furs for the finer hats. Sheep wool is mixed with cotton and other vegetable fiber for the common and inferior grades.

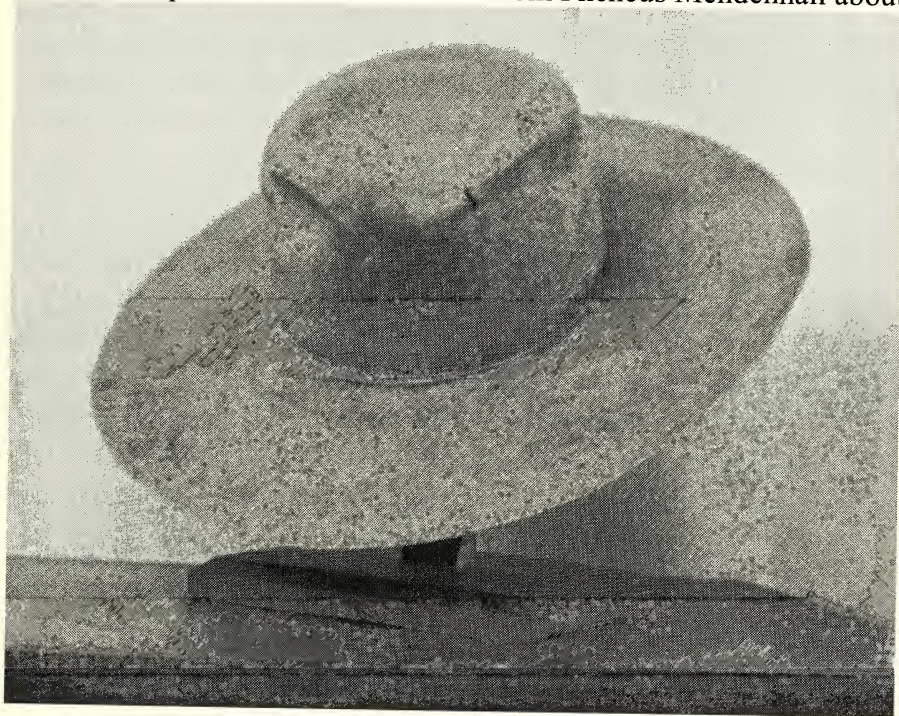
In the early settlement of America, history tells us that hat making was developed in Danbury, Connecticut, on Nantucket Island, Massachusetts, and in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The styles were made to suit the demand. We note particularly the Puritan style and the broad brimmed hat worn by some Quakers; and other styles so common to that period.

Some years prior to the Revolutionary War there was considerable unrest among the people of the northern states, therefore a great exodus developed to the New South, especially to North Carolina. From 1740 to 1776, a settlement was founded around what is now Deep River Friends Church in Guilford County, N. C. The first settler came from Pennsylvania, and others followed from Massachusetts, a large movement coming direct from Nantucket. These people were ninety percent Quakers, and a thrifty, industrious class of pioneers.

Records show that in 1772 Richard and Eunice (Macy) Beard came from Nantucket and settled near Deep River Quaker Meeting House. They were the parents of five children: Eunice, George, William, Reuben, and Elizabeth. William married Levinah Gifford

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and their children were: David, Benjamin, William, Junior; Lydia, and Rachel. David married Rebecca Brown. He inherited the hatter's business from his father William who died in 1795, but no land, so David soon purchased a tract of land from Pheneus Mendenhall about



Nathan Hunt Hat

Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C.

one mile north of Jamestown. There was, on this property until recent date, a commodious brick dwelling of colonial style with hip roof and gable windows. Some two hundred feet west of the residence was the Hat Shop, also of brick; two hundred feet north was a bubbling spring among a clump of oak trees. Some distance down the spring branch was a tan yard of twenty to twenty-five vat capacity. There was no evidence that there were any improvements on this property when David bought it, hence we conclude that he erected the buildings, and developed the Hat Shop and the tannery business by his own industry, with the helpful assistance of his excellent wife Rebecca.

The tannery business was a common industry of that period.

Brief Sketch of the Beard Hat Shop

The hides of different kinds were tanned by the lengthy process of that age that entered into the making of boots, shoes, harness, saddles, hair trunks, chairs and other useful and necessary commodities. Horse back riding was the common mode of travel, and a saddle was not properly equipped, especially for elderly men, without leather saddle bags and a sheep or goat skin tanned with the wool on. David had a part of the west end of the Hat Shop filled with shelves stocked with merchandise of that day, thus a store to manage in addition to the manufacturing of hats and his tannery business.

David and Rebecca Beard were held in high esteem for their industry and sterling honesty, and held the respect and confidence of all who knew them. Within a few years they had accumulated considerable wealth for that day and age. About the beginning of the War of 1812 David thought it a wise venture to lay in a heavy stock of merchandise. Accordingly he took the stage for Philadelphia and purchased there a large quantity of goods. He had this order shipped by boat to Fayetteville, N. C., and from there over the Plank Road to his store by wagon.

However, this undertaking did not prove successful or profitable, for as the War progressed and panic seized the country, a great depression caused David to lose about everything he had accumulated. From this time on he devoted his energies to his farm, the hats, and the tannery business. There was a large room in the hat shop devoted to the storage of fur bearing animal skins for which he paid cash or traded. It was the common custom for the men and boys of the community to take the game from their hunts and trappings to Beard's place and exchange for hats. These hats were the only head gear in use except coonskin and homemade caps.

The process of converting furs into hats required a vast knowledge and skill that had to be acquired by the operator before he could make a satisfactory and finished product. The hides were split and trimmed, and then laid out on a large table, fur side up, over which a large catgut cord was stretched. This cord was fastened securely at one end of the table, and at the other end to a strong hickory bow that drew the cord perfectly taut, and by picking on the cord with the fingers, the vibration slashed the fur loose from the skins and whipped into proper condition for separating the hair from the fur. The fur was then placed in a vat. Shellac and chemicals were mixed until the mass was the consistency of dough when it was

kneaded and put through various processes until it was a smooth, adhesive body.

From this a piece would be cut by weight according to the pattern of hat to be made, then pressed into a circular form with tools for that purpose, and allowed to dry. From now on the utmost care had to be exercised in the different processes. It could be dyed any color desired. The shrinking and felting to secure a uniform thickness and strength of fabric was done by immersing the "form" in boiling water, and passing it between the wooden rolls of a sizing machine. This fulling process was carried on until the "form" was ready for the warm block or pattern that shaped the hat to be made.

The "form" was stretched over the block pattern and carefully smoothed and fitted to the block. It was then brushed to a proper finish as it dried on the block. When this was removed from the block the hat was ready for the band and lining and called a finished product.

David Beard the Hatter was strongly opposed to slavery, as were most Quakers. In his later life he harbored runaway slaves, concealing them under the fur pelts in his hat shop. For this he was brought before the court in Greensboro. George C. Mendenhall, a prominent lawyer whose home was one half mile from David's place, and who also had been raised a Quaker, defended him. He made such an eloquent and touching appeal to the court and jury in behalf of the old man and his honest convictions, that many shed tears. David was kindly reprimanded by the court—just told to go home and sin no more!

David and Rebecca were the parents of three children: William, James, and Lydia. William married Martha Henley in 1819 and to this union were born twelve children: Alvaron, Eliza Jane, Cornelia, Susan Rebecca, Augustine, Adaline, Mary, Lydia, Sarah, John, James, and Martha. Susan of this family married Phillip Sicheloff, and one of their four daughters married John Yokley—both families are well known in Davidson and Guilford counties, N. C. "Gus" and James settled in Kernersville. James organized the mercantile and tobacco firm of Beard and Roberts; he died in 1897. James, son of James, is now a businessman in Norfolk, Virginia, and Grover, the younger son of James, Senior, is a professor of chemistry in Chapel Hill, the N. C. State University. John, son of William and Martha, moved to Lawrence, Kansas soon after the Civil War in

Brief Sketch of the Beard Hat Shop

which he served, and was a successful merchant; he died in 1910—his widow and daughter still live in Lawrence. The only descendants of David and Rebecca who still reside in North Carolina by the name of Beard are a few of “Gus” Beard’s descendants.

James Beard, son of David and Rebecca, married Mary Manlove in 1822. They moved to Illinois in 1831 and were the parents of six children: Cynthia, Rebecca, David, George, Sarah, and Mary. James married secondly and had another daughter: Harriet. He died in 1870 in Illinois. His descendants now live in nineteen different states. Prominent among these we mention Mrs. H. R. Lindenberger of Lawrence, Kansas, who is compiling an extensive genealogy of the Beard Family (covering 223 years).

Lydia Beard, daughter of David and Rebecca, married John R. Guyer and later moved to Indiana. She was prominent in the manufacture of silk from the cultivation of the wild worms to the finished material. They were the parents of James, David, Cornelia, and John Guyer, all of whom had exceptionally long lives. Prominent among their descendants is Wm. R. F. Guyer of Plainfield, Indiana.

David Beard died in 1849. The business was continued in a small way by Isaac Lilly who had learned the trade as David’s apprentice. Rebecca died in 1858, and soon after her death the property passed into other hands. The home was used as a tenant house and the Hat Shop as a barn for a number of years. The tannery business was carried on by the new owner J. Harper Johnston until after the Civil War. Mr. Johnston later sold the property to real estate dealers who in turn sold it to S. O. Schaub who, to develop the farm, razed the old buildings. Today the sites of these old landmarks are under cultivation.²

Both David and his wife are buried in the Deep River cemetery. Their grave stones are marked: “David Beard Sen. was born 4th mo. 1774 Died 7th mo. 1849 aged 75 years. Rebecca Beard died 7th mo. 1858 aged 80 years.” Thus ends the story of the Hatter of Guilford County North Carolina.

¹ A typescripts of this article is in the files of Deep River Friends Meeting, High Point, North Carolina, and in the North Carolina Friends Historical Collection, Hege Library, Guilford College.

² Now it is the Meadows of Jamestown development.

When Guns Were Made By Hand.

Years Ago Gun-Making Was One of the Chief Industries Along Upper Deep River and Bull Run Creek in Western Guilford, N. C.¹

By
H. Clay Briggs, 1935

Years ago the making of guns entirely by hand was one of the chief industries of the section of Guilford County along upper Deep River and Bull Run Creek. Since it is only the older people whose memory goes back so far, a description of the laborious process and something of the shops and their owners may be interesting. According to the best of my memory, the process of making the barrels was as follows:

First, the barrel must be made of a flat piece of iron, bent around a small rod of tool steel. Second, a welding heat was made on about six inches and the rod driven in cold, and then the barrel was welded and hammered into octagon shape. The rod was drawn out by tapping on a latch-shaped end, and another heat taken and so on until the whole barrel was welded. It was then bored and rifled all by hand. The outside was filed and polished, grooves were filed in the top of the barrel for the sights and on the under side for a lug to fasten the stock. The breech was bored and threaded for breech pins. It was then ready for the stock, which was sawed out of maple lumber that had air-dried two years or more. A web saw was used—a saw twenty-eight or thirty inches long, half an inch wide, set in a square frame. The stock was shaped to pattern. The channel for the barrel was made with chisels and gouges. The breech tail, about six inches long at the back end of the barrel, was next fitted. Then the locks and triggers. The triggers had to be forged and finished, but the locks

came from the North.

After they were fitted, the breech, or shoulder piece, and ramrod thimbles were fitted. The stock was now ready to be rounded and finished, which, in strait-grain maple, was done with drawing knife and files and sandpaper. In curly maple this rounding had to be done with a rasp and file. The stock was stained with aquafortis, as they always called nitric acid. A cotton rag was wrapped around a stick and used as a brush for applying the acid. One application made the stock a light color, two made it almost black. After the stock was fastened to the barrel, a long-shanked bit was inserted in the ramrod thimble and the stock bored for the ramrod, which was made of rived hickory. Wipers were fastened to the ramrod, bullet mould made to fit. Then the gun was ready for training the sight, which was done by the trainer lying down and resting the gun on a log and shooting at a mark. Usually two or three shots would prove the sights, and the gun was ready for use. The price was \$10 to \$25, according to mounting on stock, which was made of brass, German silver, and coin silver.

There are only three men living, whom I know, who have ever stocked guns, Jesse Stevens and Duck White, of Greensboro, and A. Ed. Thornton, of Deep River Church section. It was a good day's work to rifle six barrels, one and one-half days' work to make and finish a stock. Hunters in those days were hardy indeed, when we consider that the overall length of a gun was near six feet, weight from eight to ten pounds, and besides the gun he had to carry powder horn and bullets.

The oldest gun makers were Capt. Billy Lamb and his kinsman, Jay Lamb. Capt. Billy's first shop was on the place now occupied by the family of the late John Gordon, north of the Stephen Davis farm, one mile south of Friendship.² Later, Capt. Billy moved further down on Deep River on what is now known as the Elias Thornton place,³ where he had waterpower and made rifles complete, lock, stock, and barrel. He made guns there until the Civil War, when he and his son, J. C. Lamb, made guns for the Confederacy, and wagons, as well.

There was also a Confederate gun-shop at Florence, one mile west of Lamb's shop. My father, B. Franklin Briggs, worked in both of these shops. He was a victim of tuberculosis, and was not able to do heavy work, so he forged springs and triggers.



Jamestown rifle made by a member of the Lamb family.

Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C.

After the war, Capt. Billy Lamb's plant was turned into a wool-carding mill. It was abandoned about 1870. Capt. Billy was getting to be quite old by this time, but he put up a little shop on the hill above Idol's mill and made rifle triggers for S. H. Ward and others as long as he was able to work. He was universally respected by all who knew him.

Jay Lamb built a house one mile south of Deep River Church, in Florence, and made guns there. I think he bought his barrels. After a few years he bought the farm on which Clarence H. Mackey's lodge now stands, and made guns there many years.⁴ From this place he moved to the mountains just this side of Piper's Gap and formed what is known as Lambsburg. He lived to be very old and worked on guns as long as he lived.

Then came Anderson Lamb, making barrels for other builders. He had a little waterpower shop on Bull Run Creek.⁵ He bored and rifled his barrels by power. During the Civil War he made gun barrels for Capt. Billy and son, H. C. After the railroad was built from Goldsboro to Charlotte, the gunmakers got their barrels and locks from Philadelphia, welded and semi-polished, but not rifled. Anderson Lamb and Evan Johnson were the only makers who had rifle machines. All the other makers went to them to get their barrels rifled. After the war, Anderson Lamb for several years worked several men and made many guns. "A. Lamb" was stamped on the barrel just behind the rear sight. Later the firm name was changed to A. Lamb & Son. When A. Lamb retired, his son, Jesse, took the business and operated it as long as he lived. I have some of his materials and tools. Anderson Lamb and his son Jesse were good workmen and were highly respected by everyone who knew them.

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About the time that Anderson Lamb came on the stage, Henry Ledbetter and son, Alpheus, put up a shop on what is now known as the David Henley place, near Deep River Church.⁶ They worked several men for a number of years, quitting the business about 1860. Henry Wright had a shop on the Jamestown-Guilford College road on the place now owned by John Chadwick.⁷ Henry Wright's brother, Nathan, put up a shop in Florence and worked it until 1868, when he went to Indiana.⁸ Henry Wright went to Missouri in 1870.

Randy Ledbetter made guns right where Camp Uwharrie now is.⁹ Also Quincy Couch near the same place. Frank Ledbetter had a shop just south of the campsite; also Micajah Howard. Jud Ledbetter had one where the road leaves the Jamestown-Guilford College road, leading to the camp.¹⁰ Chet Ledbetter had a shop three-quarters of a mile northeast of Hickory Grove Church, 200 yards north of where the Idols lived. Capt. Marlow had one about halfway between where Chet and Jud Ledbetter had theirs. James Gordon had one about a mile west of Hickory Grove Church. He was the father of our much-beloved doctor and legislator, Dr. J. R. Gordon of Jamestown. Fletcher Merritt and Evan Johnson had shops nearly north of Hickory Grove church. There is a gun in our family now, which was made by Fletcher Merritt. I have known it over seventy years. It was a flintlock when we got it, but we had it changed to percussion lock. One mile east of Lamb's place Ithamer Armfield, who was a very fine workman, had a shop.¹¹ He was a genius, and could make anything that anyone else could. His brother, Joseph S., made guns, too. Jabez Stevens had a shop up the creek from Jay Lamb's. I have one of his guns. It was a flintlock, too, and has been changed. Ithamer Armfield and Chet Ledbetter were considered the best engravers in this section. One of the last gunmakers in the business was Solomon H. Ward, whose shop was in the yard of the Mackey Lodge property.¹² His was a pretty large business for many years, or until near 1900. When he quit making guns, he made bone meal, and later operated a tomato cannery.

Most of the shops were very small log buildings, with a long, narrow window over the benches—sometimes with a glass, often not. Some of the gunmakers had a bench in their kitchens. All of these men were fine marksmen and very vain of it. It has been told that Capt. Billy Lamb was out one day preparing to shoot a squirrel. The squirrel peeped round a limb and asked, "Is your name Lamb?" Capt.

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Billy answered, "Yes." The squirrel inquired again, "Capt. Billy Lamb?" Upon receiving an affirmative reply again, the squirrel said, "Then don't shoot. I'll come down."

All of these men were good, honest workmen and made good guns. Considering that it took several days to make one and that they were sold for from \$10 to \$25, it was not a get-rich-quick business. I doubt if there is a single shop standing anywhere in the country.

¹ Manuscript is in the files of Deep River Friends Meeting, High Point, North Carolina. A copy can also be found in the Friends Historical Collection, Hege Library, Guilford College.

² Off of present Gallimore Dairy Rd., east of Hwy. 68.

³ Now where Sunnyvale Rd. would meet North Fork of Deep River.

⁴ The Clarence H. Mackey hunting lodge land was later developed as Cedarwood, on Guilford College Rd. The main lodge was on Cedarwood Drive.

⁵ Probably now in the southwestern part of Adams Farm development.

⁶ Just northeast of Deep River Meeting House.

⁷ Chadwick Dr. is off Guilford College Rd., north of Mackay Rd.

⁸ Slightly south of East Fork Rd.

⁹ A Boy Scout camp, Camp Uwharrie, was located at the terminus of Akela Trail, off Guilford College Rd.

¹⁰ Off Akela Trail, see above.

¹¹ North of Mackay Rd., just north of Adams Farm Shopping Center.

¹² See note 4.

High Point Buggy Company¹

by

H. Clay Briggs

The High Point Buggy Company might be said to have had its beginning in 1876, 62 years ago this summer, when I began to work as a blacksmith's helper in the buggy shop of Luesing, Paisley & Co., in the village of Florence, six miles northeast of High Point. Luesing was a German, from Canada, and Paisley was an Englishman. J. A. Richardson, father of A. M. Richardson, of the building and loan department of the Wachovia Bank, here, and W. B. Richardson, father of Mrs. A. M. Briggs, were also connected with this business. I owe a great deal of my skill of later days to Luesing and a tramp blacksmith named Spady, who taught me draft work. When I had been with this concern a year and a half, they disbanded and J. A. Richardson took over the business, and I remained with him. In 1879, my elder brother, A. M. Briggs, came into the shop to learn the wood work and painting end of buggy making.

In 1881, Richardson not furnishing us steady work, my brother and I put up a repair shop, also in the village of Florence, under the name of A. M. and H. C. Briggs. As Richardson did no repair work, we had a clear field and wide territory. Our first purchase amounted to \$16.00 each, my brother's part being in materials and mine in tools. Incidentally, I still have these tools. The next year we began to make new buggies, and in 1883 our younger brother, J. R. Briggs, came into the business. From then until the fall of 1901 we made and repaired buggies under the firm name of Briggs Bros., and enjoyed the patronage of most of the businessmen in the young town of High Point, as well as the territory surrounding our village. Our shop became the traditional village gathering place, where the affairs of neighborhood, country and world were discussed and settled, to the accompaniment of the sound of hammer on anvil,

marble shooting, horse-shoe pitching, banjo-picking and "clogging," the last two forms of entertainment being furnished by the village "darkies," who were often to be found about the shop. Long before there were any regularly established rural mail routes as part of the post office system, we had mail service from a route running from Jamestown to Orinoco (Hayworth's Mill in Davidson County).

A number of our friends in High Point had been trying for years to persuade us to come to High Point and go into the manufacture of buggies on a much larger scale than was possible in our small country shop, which was nearly three miles from our shipping point. Various inducements were offered by different people, one being an offer from Ed Field of an acre lot on the northwest corner of East Commerce and South Hamilton Streets. In 1901 Elwood Cox, after a trip to Massachusetts, came back so enthusiastic over the possibilities of a buggy factory that we finally capitulated, and formed a stock company, capitalized at \$25,000, with J. Elwood Cox as President; A. M. Briggs, Vice-President and Superintendent; Henry A. White, Secretary-Treasurer; H. C. Briggs, Foreman Smithing Department; and J. R. Briggs, Foreman Woodworking. Our directors were J. E. Cox, E. A. Snow, J. J. Welch, R. R. Ragan, H. W. White and A. M. Briggs.

Our factory buildings were built during the winter and spring of 1902. For our first forge we built a box and filled it with dirt, brought my old-fashioned bellow over, and began to make buggies in the latter days of March 1902. We got our factory-built forges, anvils, drills, upsetters, etc., in May, and really began to turn out buggies on a production scale, completing 469 that year, as against an average of not more than twelve to fifteen in the old shop. In the beginning we paid our men from fifty cents to one dollar and a half per day, only two men getting more than a dollar. From that time on wages slowly advanced until in 1917-18 we were paying from three to six and a half dollars a day.

We made enough money to pay our taxes the first year of operation, and Mr. Cox and Mr. Snow and others said ours was the second concern in town to come out even the first year. Ours was the sixty-third factory established here, and Fred Tate closely followed us with the Continental.

After the first year our output was never less than one thousand vehicles a year, and one year we made over four thousand.

High Point Buggy Company

Although buggies were our chief product, we built a wide variety of horse-drawn vehicles—surreys, phaetons, and the like, words which in these few short years have almost entirely passed from the present-day vocabulary.

In 1917 our younger brother, J. R. Briggs died. In the spring of 1922, when it became apparent that the buggy business was about through, and believing that we could close it out to better advantage than Mr. White could, Brother Alf and his son, Roy, and I bought out the White interests, and converted one of our factory buildings into a furniture manufacturing concern. The other building had already been made into a hosiery mill and was later sold to the Commonwealth Hosiery Company. We continued to make a few buggies until 1928, having turned out a total of 31,368 jobs in the twenty-six years of operation. Soon after we built our last buggy, we sold all of our materials for a small part of what they had cost. Most of the machinery had to be scrapped, because there was no further need for it in an automobile-riding world. One machine that cost \$650 sold for less than six dollars, and others for relative values.

About the time we ceased our buggy making, we changed the name from High Point Buggy Company to Briggs Manufacturing Company. Under the efficient management of my nephew, E. LeRoy Briggs, the firm is now a well-known maker of living room furniture of the same class as our buggies, medium and high grade, built for service. The slogan "When you ride, ride right" was more than just words.

There are still living only five of the original stockholders of the High Point Buggy Company: R. R. Ragan, Geo. H. Crowell, Miss Cora White, Dr. D. A. Stanton, and the writer.

¹ From the files of Deep River Friends Meeting. A copy can also be found in the Friends Historical Collection, Hege Library, Guilford College.

The Lure of the Magic Worm

By
Mary A. Browning

Silk culture became popular in the 1830s and for a few decades thereafter, in the Piedmont counties of North Carolina. It was especially popular among women and girls as it offered a rare source of revenue for a product of their own labor. The appeal was more than economic, however, because there was also a touch of the exotic in it. It was an interesting novelty. A number of Quaker women are known to have tried the business.

The Moravians in North Carolina were interested as well. Salem's first newspaper, *The Weekly Gleaner*, carried an ad in 1829 for one hundred thousand "Silkworm's Eggs" that were offered for sale at eighty cents per thousand. The ad stated that application could be made at the printing office. Or, the eggs could be put up in a letter and sent by mail, "if applied for before warm weather sets in."¹

In the October 1, 1840, issue of *The Farmer's Advocate and Miscellaneous Reporter*, published in Jamestown, North Carolina, this article appeared, written by the publisher John Sherwood:²

A few days ago, four skeins of silk were brought into our office, by Jesse Shelly, Esq. of this place, reeled by a young woman (Delphina Field) in his employ. The four skeins together weighed seventeen ounces, and was (*sic*) reeled from a bushel of cocoons, measured for the purpose. Mr. Shelley (*sic*) has reeled about twenty pounds, a part of which was of his own raising the balance was purchased from others.

Several of the citizens of Jamestown and vicinity, have made small parcels of silk this season, mostly from the native mulberry, all of which so far as we have ascertained are well pleased with their success. Some with whom we have particularly conversed on the subject have told us, that they were convinced they could not have made the same amount in an equal length of time

Lure of the Magic Worm

in any other way, as they have made by raising worms on our native mulberry leaves, and selling their cocoons. Now, every one acquainted with the *Multicaulis* must know, that with a convenient orchard of them, more than double as much foliage can be gathered with the same labor, as can from the native tree. Hence, the same lavet (*sic*) would produce from the *Multicaulis*, nearly double the amount of cocoons besides the additional profit each producer might secure by reeling their own silk. To prove the advantage of reeling, over that of selling the cocoons, requires only a little reflection. An ordinary reeler will reel at least a bushel of cocoons in a day with ease; the silk, if well reeled from a bushel of good cocoons, is worth one to two dollars more than the cocoons would sell for before they were reeled, thus the producer would obtain this sum each day while employed in reeling their silk, more than by selling their cocoons.

Reeling silk has usually been considered a difficult operation, but this appears to be either a mistaken idea, or false delusion held out designedly, to deter the producer from reeling their own silk. Miss Field, who reeled Mr. Shelly's silk, above mentioned, commenced reeling this season without any instructions more than what had been obtained by reading and by the time she had reeled twelve or fifteen pounds, could reel a bushel of cocoons in a day with ease. Mr. S's reel was made by a mechanic in the neighborhood on a plan similar to the Piedmontese (*sic*) reel. He is also making arrangements for entering more extensively into the silk business, in the future.

Some ten or twelve years ago, the business was introduced into Guilford County, N. C. In the year 1830, our family procured some eggs, from which we raised a few worms; and in 1831, we had what then seemed quite a respectable crop, though consisting of but a few thousand worms. Such a crop, now would be thought quite significant. They were fed on the native Mulberry, and raised without any particular difficulty, as the worms were remarkably healthy and spun well.³

Circulation statistics for *The Farmer's Advocate* aren't available, but it is reasonable to suppose that something published in Jamestown, in the heart of Quaker country, had a large Quaker readership. Deep River Meeting was nearest, but New Garden, Union, Dover, Hopewell,

Springfield, and Centre weren't far, and Marlborough and Back Creek in Randolph were on many families' visiting circuits.

Alpheus Briggs tells us elsewhere in this publication that Lydia Beard, daughter of David and Rebecca Beard of Deep River Meeting, was "prominent in silk cultivation."⁴ Lydia married John Guyer at Deep River Meeting in December 1836, and the family removed to Union Meeting in Morgan County, Indiana in 1860.⁵

Since Lydia Beard Guyer carried her knowledge and experience with her, Friends had their own version of a Great Silk Road between North Carolina and Indiana. Samples were sent over that road in a letter written by Hannah Reynolds Watkins Osborne of "Centre N. C." to her sister Catharine P. Sheppard at Carlisle, Indiana in November 1851:

Here is a piece of Cynthia's silk; she wove it last fall and in the spring I helped her make her dress...⁶

Cynthia was the former Cynthia E. Smith of Springfield Meeting, who married Joshua Reynolds at Springfield in 1846.

Hannah, the prolific writer of letters, was her sister-in-law, Joshua Reynolds' sister, and an excellent chronicler of the people and events of her wide circle. That circle included Centre Meeting and its large neighborhood that reached into Randolph County. It also included the Boarding School at New Garden, where she was a teacher and superintendent of girls for some years in the 1840s, and a proponent and active supporter for many more.

Her letters often referred to quilt pieces, cutting rags for carpet strings, looms, and swatches of dress fabric, all of which reflect the degree to which ordinary housekeeping of the time included essential textile production. Silk added a new and interesting wrinkle to the old list of wool, cotton, and flax.

Cynthia Reynolds was still "busy reeling silk," in May 1852.⁷ A year later, another report on the matter was sent to Indiana in June 1853, when Hannah wrote:

Perhaps thou remembers Cynthia had a silk web in her loom last fall, well she finished it a few weeks since and would not undertake to raise silk this year, but Velina plead so hard for the eggs that she let her have them, and with the little assistance she received she has raised a pretty good crop.⁸



Dress of homegrown, homespun, hand-woven silk made and worn by Sarah Stanton Hodgin of the Centre Community in Guilford County.
Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C.

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So a new recruit was added, Cynthia's oldest child, daughter Velina, who was then six years old. That may have been the last silk in the household, however, as suggested by Hannah, who wrote in 1859:

Cynthia is in very poor health ever since a short time after she was so smart, she is not able to get round much, she says tell Cassius that she has no silk worm eggs and knows of no one that has. I believe she has not raised any silk in 5 years. I have enquired at the few places where worms were last year & learned that they all perished when the late frost destroyed the mulberry leaves & I much fear that the seed is gone from the country.⁹

Histories of the Richard Mendenhall house in Jamestown usually report that silkworms were raised by Mendenhall in the cellar of his house. These histories also point out that a brick wall was removed from an addition to the west end of the house and was replaced by wood siding. One explanation of this change could have been that the wood siding would have allowed more air to circulate to silkworms if they were raised in that part of the house.¹⁰ It should be added that this is all speculation.

The Friends Historical Collection has a Quaker style dress that was handmade of homegrown, homespun, hand woven silk, and dyed a rich and warm brown color. It was made and worn by Sarah Stanton Hodgin (1820-1903) of the Centre community. Sarah was the daughter of Randolph County Quakers, David and Ann Stanton. She married Micajah C. Hodgin in 1840 at Centre Meeting.

Finally, as additional proof of the lure of silkworm culture, it is described in some detail in the 1942 novel, *They Love to Laugh*,¹¹ by Kathryn Worth. The book immerses the reader in Quaker culture of the 1830s, and "The Magic Worm" is not only the title of one chapter, but also is an integral part of the story.

¹ *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, Adelaide L. Fries, editor, Raleigh: Dept. of Archives and History, 1954, Vol. 8, p. 390.

² John Sherwood was a business associate of Nereus Mendenhall. It may be of interest to this audience that the two advertised one of their business ventures in the *Greensboro Patriot* of December 16, 1843, as partners and agents for a process called the "Bommer Manure Method," which was a method of converting vegetable matter into fertilizer.

³ *Farmer's Advocate*, Historic Jamestown Society, Jamestown, N. C., Vol. III, No. 3, August 1977, p. 7.

⁴ See p. 36

⁵ Hinshaw, William W. *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, Vol. 1, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1969, p. 812.

⁶ Hannah R. W. Osborne Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C., 11th Mo. 1851

⁷ Ibid, 5th Mo. 25th 1852

⁸ Ibid, 6th Mo 21st 1853.

⁹ Ibid, 2nd Mo 1st 1859

¹⁰ *Farmer's Advocate*, op. cit, Vol. II, No. 3, June 1976.

¹¹ Worth, Kathryn. *They Loved to Laugh*, Bathgate, N. D.: Bethlehem Books, 1996.

Book Reviews

Bordewich, Fergus M., *Bound for Canaan*, cloth edition subtitled *The Underground Railroad and the War for the Soul of America* (New York: Amistad, an imprint of Harper Collins Publishers, 2005), xv, 540 p., [16] p. of plates: ill., maps, U.S. \$27.95; paper edition subtitled *The Epic Story of the Underground Railroad, America's First Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Amistad, an imprint of Harper Collins Publishers, 2006), xvii, 540 p., [16] p. of plates: ill., maps, U.S. \$14.95.

Fergus Bordewich's title *Bound for Canaan* is derived from song lyrics quoted by Fredrick Douglass: "O Canaan, sweet Canaan; I'm bound for the land of Canaan." This along with the subtitles would suggest a sympathetic portrait. Such is the case, but fortunately for the sake of historical accuracy, the work is not overly romanticized. Bordewich defines his purpose "to show how the underground [he notes that the movement would not have been known at its beginning as the "Underground Railroad"] came into being, how it operated, and, more than anything else, what kinds of people – black and white, men and women – made it work."

The Introduction engages the reader by beginning in Madison, Indiana, in the mid-1840s showing the plight of a slave "about to steal himself." Immediately, the risks and dangers associated with the Underground Railroad are made known. Bordewich states that while many persons opposed slavery for religious reasons, "few believed they had a moral right to break the law to help runaways." Antislavery societies and the Underground Railroad, while not one and the same, "existed...in a "symbiotic relationship... [providing] fertile ground for clandestine activists." He notes that the abolitionist underground was dominated by Quakers even though the sect "made up slightly less than two percent of the population at the turn of the nineteenth century."

Bordewich covers well those previously acknowledged in history texts as well as some known especially to Friends – John Brown; Addison, Catherine, Levi and Vestal Coffin; Frederick Douglass; Thomas Garrett; William Lloyd Garrison; James and Lucretia Mott;

Gerrit Smith; William Still; and Harriet Tubman. Of equal interest are the stories of the lesser known, which personalizes the work. What is notable is that he follows many of these over a period of several decades. He uses an epilogue to tell what happened to each of the characters. Among these were:

- Henry Bibb, a fugitive slave from Kentucky, who established the *Voice of the Fugitive*, the first black-owned newspaper in Canada, which detailed fugitives' arrival in Canada.
- Henry "Box" Brown, a fugitive who escaped from Richmond, Virginia, by having himself shipped in a crate to Philadelphia. It is one of the more dramatic escapes on record.
- Mary Ann Shadd Cary, an émigré to Canada in 1850 because of the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law. The first black newspaperwoman in North America, she published a competing newspaper to Bibb's, the *Provincial Freedman*.
- Josiah Henson, a slave who escaped with the assistance of the Underground Railroad. He began the Dawn Institute in Chatham, Ontario, a refuge for fugitive slaves where they were taught useful trades and prepared for life in a free society. He is believed to have been the model for the hero in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.
- Isaac Tatum Hopper, a Philadelphian associated with Quakers and a member of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. He and collaborators "became what can fairly be described as the first operating cell of the abolitionist underground."
- Jermain Loguen, a former slave born Jarm Logue, who was a leader in the underground in Syracuse. A teacher, minister and abolitionist lecturer, he defiantly advertised his home in newspapers as a refuge for fugitives.
- Rev. John Rankin, a staunch abolitionist who made Ripley, Ohio, a center for underground activity. It was his account of a slave, "Eliza," who carried her child across the Ohio River that was included in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.
- David Ruggles, an African American bookseller who wrote several antislavery pamphlets. He worked as a conductor on the Underground Railroad and assisted Frederick Douglass when the latter arrived in New York.
- Jonathan Walker, a Massachusetts abolitionist who in 1844 attempted to smuggle six fugitives from Pensacola, Florida, to

the Bahamas. The effort was unsuccessful as they were captured just one day's sail short of their destination. The slaves were returned to their owners and Walker was branded on his hand with the letters "SS" for "slave stealer."

Bordewich recognizes the important role of women in the Underground Railroad – feeding, sheltering and nursing freedmen – and even serving as conductors. He correctly views it as a forerunner to the modern women's movement. Here again we find a disproportionate number of Quakers – Angelina and Sarah Grimké, Laura Haviland, and Lucretia Mott, just to name a few.

It probably goes without saying that readers of *The Southern Friend* will be particularly interested in what Bordewich finds about North Carolina. Chapters 4, "The Hand of God in North Carolina," and 14, "A Disease of the Body Politic," cover well the Underground Railroad in the state. He states that "North Carolina formed the only sizable abolitionist community south of the Border states" and notes that the "only place in the inner South where organized underground clearly went on without interruption was in the Quaker counties of North Carolina, centering on the New Garden Meeting, near Greensboro." There is evidence that he consulted the appropriate primary and secondary resources. The Coffin family gets its due as Levi and Vestal Coffin are recognized by Bordewich as "founders of the earliest known scheme to transport fugitive slaves across hundreds of miles of unfriendly territory to free states."

In chapter 14, I found one of only two misstatements in the text. In my research on the Underground Railroad in Guilford County, I interviewed Joshua Edgar Murrow (1892-1980) who told me about the involvement of his grandfather *Andrew Caldwell Murrow* (1820-1904) (not "Joshua Murrow") in the Underground Railroad. He mentioned the false-bottomed wagon which his grandfather used to transport fugitives, now on display at the Mendenhall Plantation and under the care of the Historic Jamestown Society (Jamestown, North Carolina). The other error was in Chapter 6 where he references "Dupin County, North Carolina." This would be "Duplin County," and I would quibble as to whether Murfreesboro should be described as "nearby."

Bordewich references the Underground Railroad as the nation's "first racially integrated civil rights movement." He writes "for generations, Americans thought of the Underground Railroad as a

mostly monochromatic narrative of high-minded white people condescending to assist terrified and helpless blacks. Only recently have African Americans begun to be restored to their rightful place at the center of the story.” He continues writing that the Underground Railroad movement “changed relations between the races in ways more radical than any that had been seen since the American Revolution, or would be seen again until the second half of the twentieth century.”

I found the book to be thoroughly researched and well written. The author made extensive use of materials in the Friends Historical Collection of Guilford College’s Hege Library. He acknowledges the work of those who have gone before: Addison and Levi Coffin, Larry Gara, and Stephen B. Weeks, paying particular homage to Wilbur H. Seibert and William Still. He consulted the biographies of numerous former fugitives and even found Barbara Wright’s unpublished thesis on “North Carolina Quakers and Slavery” as well my work on the “Underground Railroad in Guilford County.”

Bordewich excels at weaving the story of the Underground Railroad into a larger historical context. His work is comprehensive and, dare I say, a definitive work on the subject. His journalistic style makes for engrossing reading for both historians and a general audience. He commented that the Underground Railroad has been a fascination for him since childhood. May those who read this book be similarly intrigued.

M. Gertrude Beal
Guilford College

Briefer Notices

Elizabeth A. Saunders. *Archdale Friends Meeting: Genealogical Abstracts from the Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1924 - 1949.* Baltimore, Md.: Gateway Press, 2005. v + 210 pp.

As stated in the introductory preface, this book was compiled to serve as a genealogical resource for individuals with ties to Archdale Monthly Meeting and its parent meeting, Springfield. William Wade Hinshaw’s *Encyclopedia of American Quaker*

Genealogy provides abstracts for the oldest North Carolina monthly meeting records but only includes early twentieth century information for a few of those meetings and none of the newer meetings such as Archdale. Unlike the older records that serve sometimes as the only source of documentation for essential genealogical data, most twentieth century vital statistics can be located through civil records. Covering only a twenty-five year span, these abstracts give the fuller details of meeting activities by noting every time an individual was appointed to a meeting committee or even mentioned by name in the minutes.

Seth C. Macon. *Uphill Both Ways: Overcoming Difficulties . . . With Lots of Help*. Greensboro, N.C.: Seth Macon, 2005. vii + 363 pp. \$21.95.

This self-published memoir tells the story of Seth Macon from his childhood in Randolph County and college years at Guilford to his career at Jefferson Standard Life Insurance Company. Of interest to readers of *The Southern Friend* are chapters focusing on Macon's Quaker ancestry. The chapter on Levi Cox and Elma Cox Macon presents extensive excerpts of Cox family letters from the late nineteenth century. Included is an 1881 letter by Eli C. and Roxannah M. Cox detailing their move from the Holly Spring community in North Carolina to live in the Quaker settlement of Estacado, Texas.

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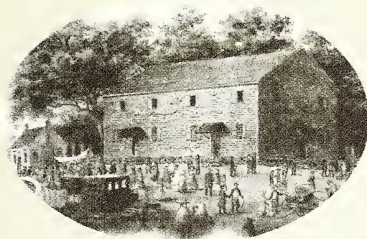
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The Southern Friend

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

Volume XXVIII

2006

Number 2

*"The Small Black Boy at my right hand
is Christ": George Walton and Friends'
Manumission of Slaves In Revolutionary
-Era North Carolina*

By Michael J. Crawford

*A Young Mendenhall in an Abolitionist
Family: Learning Songs from Sojourner
Truth and Listening To Frederick Douglass*
By Theodor Benfey

*Set Thy House in Order:
George C. Mendenhall's New Order of
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*Friends Historical Collection
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The Tar Heel State:

A History of North Carolina

The A to Z of Friends (Quakers)

The Southern Friend

Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society

The purpose of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society is to collect, preserve, and publish valuable information relative to the history of the Society of Friends in North Carolina and adjacent territories.

The Southern Friend is published by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Members of the society receive the journal without charge. There is a new due schedule for 2006: individual or library membership is \$30; family membership is \$50; sustaining membership is \$75; Quaker history patron membership is \$150; life membership is \$500 (\$1000 beginning January 1, 2007). Back issues may be purchased. Prices vary according to specific issue and range from \$2.50 (single back issues) to \$1 (recent double issues).

Editorial Policy

The editors welcome articles on any aspect of the history of Friends in the Southeast. Articles must be well written and properly documented. Contributors should conform to the most recent edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* and Kate L. Turabian's *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* in preparing manuscripts. Submissions should be sent in both paper and electronic versions. Articles and correspondence should be addressed to the editor at editor@ncfhs.org or mailed to Mary Browning, NCFHS, P.O. Box 8502, Greensboro, NC 27419-0502.

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"Friends' Meeting House at New Garden, North Carolina, 1869. Erected in 1791." Lithograph by John Collins. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

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The Southern Friend

The Southern Friend: The Journal of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society is seeking a new editor to begin with the Spring 2007 issue. If you are interested in applying for the position, or if you know of someone who would be suitable, please contact Joan Poole at 336-643-4583, or another member of the South Friend Editorial Board. A job description can be supplied, as well as detailed information on how to make an application.

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"Friends' Meeting House at New Salem"
Lithograph by John Collins. Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Germantown, Pa.

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**"The Small Black Boy
At my right hand is Christ":
George Walton
And Friends' Manumission Of Slaves
In Revolutionary-Era North Carolina**

**By
Michael J. Crawford**

During the night of the seventeenth of the last month of 1772, George Walton, a merchant ship captain of Perquimans County, North Carolina, dreamed that he was walking along through a town, looking for a Quaker meetinghouse.¹ He entered a large building he thought could be a meetinghouse and found within several merchants doing business. Realizing it was not a meetinghouse, he did not reply to their welcome. Instead, he took up a small trunk he believed had some goods in it and went out again. He then saw another large house, this one on top of a hill composed of rock. Finding no path, he climbed easily up the hill by clutching long grass that grew from the rock. There was no meeting being held just then, and there were several people outside who did not look like Friends. He began talking with one of the women, but he did not like it when she addressed him with the fawning titles of "Mr. Walton" and "Captain Walton." In place of the trunk, Walton now had a bundle of cloth. This he offered to sell to the woman, and she took it without paying him

Michael J. Crawford (Ph.D., Boston University) was the recipient of the first Seth and Mary Edith Hinshaw Fellowship, awarded by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society in 2005. This essay is a revised version of the address he gave at the society's 2005 annual meeting. Dr. Crawford heads the Early History Branch of the Naval Historical Center, in Washington, D.C., and is preparing an edition of the writings of George Walton.

him anything. He then spoke with some tailors who were making clothes, but they denied that the cloth they were sewing was any of his.

When everyone left him, Walton began walking up a mountain along a broad, but wet and slippery, road. He overtook two people, a man who looked like a gentleman and a black boy on the man's right. Walton took a dislike to the man and attempted to run up the hill, passing between the man and the boy. The man tried to stop Walton by threatening him with a great stick, saying he did not want Walton to make the ground rough, which would make it easy for others to come up the mountain as well. The boy, who Walton now realized was not the man's servant, gave Walton a stick strengthened against splitting with a binding of rope. With this Walton could fight his way up. Seeing that Walton went boldly on, the man stopped his threatening, and they continued up the mountain. When they reached the top and started down the other side, the man slipped and fell down the mountain and out of sight into a pit. Walton, in contrast, walked down easily on fine grass that kept his feet from slipping.

Walton overtook several fashionably dressed people who told him that the man who had slipped down the mountain had not been killed, but that he would bother Walton no more. Several offered to shake his hand, but Walton felt that he had "no liberty to do it." At the foot of the mountain a thicket of briars and thorns stopped progress for everyone except Walton, who alone found a path through them. When he came to a grassy plain, two grave men he had not seen before joined him. They all easily jumped over a deep black pool of water surrounded by bushes and briars that was in their path. The three soon saw their home, but to get there they had to pass through more briars and thorns. The two men told Walton that he "must be their guide for they did not then know the way." Walton agreed to lead them for he now knew where they were and could see a narrow path that the other two men had not yet seen.

Walton then awoke out of his dream.

We can analyze the significance of this dream on three levels. First there is what it meant consciously to George Walton, himself. This is easily done since Walton wrote down not only what he remembered of the dream but also his interpretation of it. Second, there

is the dream's significance to Walton subconsciously, for it is evident that there was more to it than the meanings Walton drew from the dream. And finally, and for historical purposes perhaps of the greatest significance, there is what the dream implied for the Society of Friends in North Carolina.

Interpreting the dream on the level of consciousness

In December 1772, when he had his dream, Walton was in the process of joining the Society of Friends. He owned land in Perquimans County and worked as the master of a ship in the region's trade with the West Indies. He had married Sarah Earls in 1764 in Perquimans and by her had a daughter, Elizabeth, born in 1768. Neither George nor Sarah was Quaker. By December 1772 Sarah had died and Walton was engaged to the widow of Timothy Winslow, who, born Mary Newby, belonged to the extensive and prominent Newby Quaker clan. Mary could not become the wife of a non-Quaker and remain in unity with the Society of Friends. Early in 1773 Walton applied to the Perquimans, North Carolina, Monthly Meeting, and was welcomed in unity on June 2. George and Mary wed with the meeting's blessing on August 4. Their union would produce three daughters and a son, all born between 1775 and 1781.²

It may be best to let Walton give his interpretation of his dream in his own words:

The town I was walking in is the world, and my looking for a meetinghouse signifies my thinking or expecting to find truth amongst gaiety and pleasures of this life. The large house with merchants in [it], looking by outward appearance to be a meetinghouse, shows the fair outside appearance the people of this world make in godliness but their insides [are] full of covetousness and deceit. My having a small trunk shows I had in some measure joined with them, and their inviting me in shows they were desirous I should join farther. But my going away after I found it not to be a meetinghouse, shows I have now seen the deceitfulness of riches and must leave them; but my taking my trunk with me shows me desirous to hold the truth and the world together, as I climbed up to the meetinghouse with it. . . . The long grass from the rock is Christ's everlasting Gospel by which all true believers

must climb up if ever they expect to be united in his heavenly meeting. The woman that gave me the flattering titles and all the rest that were with her are the people of this world which would fain be thought good Christians by going to meetings and religious worship but by deceit and hypocrisy there is no entering admitted them. My giving her my cloth shows I must forsake all trade and the way of life I am now in and leave it to people of this world, as there was no meeting because we all loved trading. The slippery mountain and broad path I had to go up is the world and the gentleman in the way to hinder my running up is the Devil which is afraid I should make his deceit known to the world that others might come to the blessed truth, therefore he attempted to hinder me. The small black boy at my right hand is Christ, which was represented black, to show how much the Devil is exalted and Christ abased. The stick he gave me was his Holy Spirit bound round with truth so that it could not be shaken by which I must fight against all the slippery paths and wiles of Satan. The being upon the top of the mountain shows my first entering the world after having overcome; and the gentleman's falling down shows that Satan will have no more power over me. Going down the mountain shows my travail through this life and the grass that keeps my feet from slipping is the everlasting Gospel of truth. The people that are also seeming to go down safe are the people of this world, which make a show of godliness and would fain be accounted such by offering to shake hands with me. But the briars and thorns which are the pleasures and riches of this world, stop them, they can go no farther. This last pool I had to get over signifies my being fully washed and purified from all the filth and pleasures of this world and in the right path for everlasting happiness, but the path being so narrow, and briars and thorns on each side shows it difficult to walk in, though I plainly saw it.

Like many of his contemporaries, Walton seems to have used dreams to help make or confirm life-altering decisions. Such a practice was characteristic of Quakers in particular in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.³ Walton interprets his December 1772 dream in the context of what his decision to become a Friend would mean for his way of life. The dream suggested to Walton that he must give up his occupation as a merchant in order to escape the love of

material things, earthly pleasures, and worldly reputation that separated him from a godly Christian life, concluding, "I must forsake all trade and the Way of life I am now in."

Six weeks after having this dream, Walton had another, which he interpreted as having a similar meaning, that is, confirming him in his profession of the principles of the Society of Friends.⁴ Walton dreamed that he was in a wheat field divided into lots. Some of the wheat was ripe, some near ripe, and some still green. He encouraged the others who were with him to join him in harvesting the ripe wheat but discovered that storms had shaken much of the ripe grain onto the ground. He next went to a grape arbor, where some of the grapes were ripe and others still green. He tasted the ripe grapes and found them pleasing, although he had not liked grapes before his wife taught him to like them. Walton interpreted the divisions in the wheat field as the different religions among whom he was sent to labor, the ripe wheat represents those who have been brought to hear the truth, the green wheat those who are not yet ready to hear it, and the ripe wheat fallen on the ground those who heard but have fallen away from the truth. For Walton, the grape arbor represents the people called Quakers, some of whom are good, some lukewarm in their religious commitment, and some who are still without knowledge of the truth. "My loving grapes through marrying my wife," Walton writes, "shows through her I first became acquainted with the profession, in which I pray God of his infinite Goodness to make me Perfect."

Interpreting the dream on the subconscious level

It is reasonable to agree with Walton that his dream of searching for a meetinghouse was a product of his personal coming to terms with his new religious profession and the new way of life it demanded. We can also see that, on a less conscious level, the dream indicated that a focal point of Walton's new religious commitment would be his participation in the campaign to put an end to Quaker involvement in the injustice of racial slavery. Part and parcel of Walton's joining the Society of Friends was his taking to heart the belief in the equality of all people in the sight of God.

Walton dreamed that a black boy helped him defeat a man

who threatened him with a big stick. He interpreted this part of his dream as Christ's enabling him to invoke the Holy Spirit and thereby defeat the wiles of Satan. He said that Christ was represented in his dream as black "to show how much the Devil is exalted and Christ abased." Walton, however, appears to have been unaware of how revolutionary it was for an eighteenth-century North American white man to write the sentence, "The small black boy at my right hand is Christ."

A third and final dream Walton recorded reflects the important place that blacks and their enslavement had taken in Walton's psyche.⁵ On August 15, 1774, more than a year and a half after his dream of searching for a meeting house, Walton dreamed that a black man, recently brought from Africa and able to speak English only with difficulty, approached two elder Friends and, weeping, "told them he was very much troubled at those wars, and fightings, and begged them to keep out of them," and departed. The phrase "wars, and fightings," Walton lets us know, refers to the differences between the American colonies and the British government, and in particular the British closing of the port of Boston, Massachusetts, in retaliation for the destruction of East India Tea in the famous Boston Tea Party. In his dream Walton upbraided the two elders, saying that the admonition from the poor black man "is come upon them for their pride, and haughtiness, and setting at naught that meek and humble Spirit, that would have preserved them from those things." Walton was sorry to have been awakened from this dream, for, he says, it "seemed sweet and refreshing to me; I felt the divine presence of the Lord to be nigh unto my Soul. This," he continues, "has brought me under deep thought concerning the workings of divine providence, and my firm belief [that the] Blacks will become a people in which God will be glorified, and show forth his power."

Soon after he joined the Society of Friends, Walton became active in the movement among Friends to set their slaves free and took a leadership role in the movement for several years following.⁶

Walton joined the Society of Friends when the agitation of the issue of slaveholding, centered in the Perquimans Meeting, which he was joining, was reaching a pivotal juncture in the affairs of the North

Carolina Yearly Meeting.

In 1768, the Yearly Meeting advised Friends against buying and selling slaves for the purpose of engaging in the slave trade, and in 1772 forbade engaging in the commerce of slaves with non-Friends, "Excepting it be to Prevent the Parting of man and wife or Parent and Child, or for other good Reasons as shall be approved of by the monthly Meeting." Friends were to be careful not to "sell a slave to any Person who makes a Practice of Buying and Selling for the sake of Gain, without Regarding how the Poor Slave may be used, or the great Evil of Seperating man and wife or Parent and Child." In 1773, the Yearly Meeting required members to obtain approval of the monthly meeting before buying and selling slaves between Friends and forbade the buying of slaves from non-Friends under any circumstances.⁷

On the issue of the morality of holding slaves, before 1772 the Yearly Meeting had done little other than to state that owners should treat their slaves well. In 1772, however, the Yearly Meeting took up the issue of how to advise Friends who wanted to free their slaves, despite the law that forbade manumission without the consent of the county court. They failed to resolve the problem in 1772, for they could not reconcile two competing claims on the conscience: that of the requirement of obeying the law, and that of the requirement of loving all men.⁸

As Walton interpreted his dream of searching for a meetinghouse, it relates to his commitment to the principles of the Society of Friends. Its timing and imagery make it clear, nonetheless, that the dream relates as well to Walton's wrestling with the issue of the enslavement of blacks. When Walton took to heart the ideals of the Society of Friends, he embraced anti-slavery as well, being convinced, "the Blacks being kept in Slavery how contrary it is to truth and Holiness and the Spirit of Christ."⁹

Interpreting the dream in the context of the Quaker community

In 1774, the Perquimans Monthly Meeting brought the matter of slaveholding before the Yearly Meeting as a practical and immediate problem. In April, Thomas Newby, a prominent Quaker and member of the Yearly Meeting's Standing Committee, had ex-

pressed to the Perquimans Monthly Meeting his “uneasiness” about owning slaves and asked the meeting’s advice on how to go about freeing them. The Monthly Meeting referred the matter to the Yearly Meeting, which referred it to the Standing Committee. The Standing Committee determined that any Friend who wished to free his slaves could do so with the permission of his monthly meeting. The monthly meeting was to appoint a committee to determine if the persons for whom freedom was proposed were in a position to support themselves, and if so, to draw up manumission papers. Thomas Newby’s quandary was now returned to the hands of the Perquimans Monthly Meeting. But the committee the Monthly Meeting appointed to consider the matter found it too weighty to decide in haste and postponed a decision. Newby continued to own slaves and his conscience remained tender.¹⁰

During the summer of 1774, George Walton wrote a letter to Newby, his fellow member of the Perquimans Friends’ Meeting, regarding Newby’s inclination to free his slaves. In the letter, Walton attempted to persuade Newby to proceed with freeing his slaves, even if contrary to law. He explained to Newby, “I have been brought under a grea[ter sen]se of the poor Blacks captivity then ever I was before; and I [believe it] my duty to communicate it to thee, hoping it might be of some [use] for the propagating of truth and their freedom.” Walton reported finding Newby “fully convinced and a true promoter of” black manumission. “But,” Walton continued, “I still labor under a fear that self interest or the desire of not getting the ill will of men of Account (as they are called in this world) will hinder him and many more from persevering in the work they have begun.”¹¹

Immediately after delivering his letter encouraging Newby to free his slaves, Walton entered into a campaign to persuade other Quakers to set their slaves free. The day after delivering the letter to Newby, he informed Francis Jones, a Public Friend, of his having done so, writing, “therefore let me entreat thee if he neglect to show it to any Friends, that those would add one spark to increase that light that now so dimly shines, and according to the ability given to thee, move all those that profess the truth, to put speedily in practice what they have so long hesitated about.”¹²

The autumn of the following year, 1775, the Yearly Meeting determined that slaveholding was “inconsistent with . . . righteousness,” and advised “all the members . . . who hold slaves . . . cleanse their hands of them as soon as they possibly can.” George Walton’s interest in the slavery question was by now apparent to the Quaker leadership, for he was appointed to the committee that drafted this resolution.¹³

Following the 1775 Yearly Meeting’s resolution that all members end their involvement with slaveholding as soon as possible, the committee appointed in 1774 by the Perquimans Monthly Meeting to help Thomas Newby finally acted. It produced a document setting free ten of Newby’s slaves, which Newby signed on March 3.¹⁴

The most significant act of the 1776 Yearly Meeting was to appoint a committee of eleven to help any Friends who wanted to free their slaves, and to instruct monthly meetings to protect freed slaves from re-enslavement, the Yearly Meeting to pay associated legal costs. On receiving this advice, the Perquimans Monthly Meeting added to the committee six additional members, including George Walton.¹⁵

In late 1776 and early 1777 Walton and other members of the committee visited fellow Quakers, encouraging and assisting them to free their slaves. During that time, at least fourteen North Carolina Friends, including Walton, joined Newby in setting free their own slaves. The fifteen men together liberated some forty slaves. Other Quakers were sympathetic but hesitant, and still others were unwilling.¹⁶

In 1777 the Perquimans Monthly Meeting recommended George Walton to the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders as “a minister with whom we have Unity,” and each of the next three years chose him to attend the Quarterly Meeting. By 1778 Walton had risen so high in the esteem of his co-religionists that they appointed him to the Standing Committee of the Eastern Quarter, where they kept him through 1782. In his first two years on the Standing Committee, Walton served as clerk. In 1779 and in 1783, Walton was appointed to committees entrusted with presenting petitions on behalf of the blacks to the General Assembly. In 1779

the Quarterly Meeting appointed him to a committee charged with visiting families to encourage reformation of departures from order. In 1781 the Yearly Meeting asked him to serve on a committee to determine whether some writings of Thomas Nicholson should be approved and circulated, and the Quarterly Meeting added him to a committee to which Monthly Meetings could apply for assistance in laboring with members who persisted in the practice of slave holding. The following year, his Monthly Meeting put him on a committee that sought to persuade slaveholding members to free their slaves. And in 1785, Walton was a member of a committee appointed to lay before the Quarterly Meeting an account of expenses of some Friends who were seeking relief for certain slaves freed by Friends in North Carolina and taken up in Virginia and sold to pay their jail fees.¹⁷

At the end of his dream of searching for a meetinghouse in December 1772, Walton dreamed that his fellow Friends asked him to lead them through the briars and thorns that blocked their way home. Walton subsequently not only became a member of the Society, but also, as his dream foreshadowed, met the challenge of leadership in a time of difficulty, acting prominently in the movement to free slaves held by his fellow Quakers.

Confrontation with Government Authorities

George Walton played an important part not only in the movement to persuade Friends to free their slaves, but also in the confrontation with North Carolina's government that resulted from the manumissions.

The manumission movement among North Carolina's Quakers was ill timed to benefit the blacks that were set free. While North Carolina Quakers were moving toward liberating their slaves, North Carolina was moving toward liberating itself from British rule. White revolutionaries in North Carolina viewed any encouragement of black aspirations for freedom as a threat to their movement, because they suspected the British authorities of planning to use slave insurrection to help put down the Revolution.

By the summer of 1775 rumors had spread that the crown had promised "every Negro that would murder his Master and family that he should have his Master's plantation." Royal Governor Josiah Mar-

tin wrote that the large black population of some of the colonies was a factor that would facilitate the reduction of those colonies to obedience to the king, and in a letter that accidentally became public he stated that he would advocate a slave revolt only in the case of “the actual and declared rebellion of the King’s subjects, and the failure of all other means to maintain the King’s Government.” Evidence of slave conspiracies confirmed white fears. In July 1775, a posse jailed more than forty suspected black ringleaders of a planned revolt in Beaufort County, and in Craven and Pitt Counties patrollers pursued a body they estimated at 250 blacks. Then in November 1775, across the border, Virginia’s royal governor, Lord Dunmore, proclaimed freedom for all the rebels’ indentured servants and slaves who would join the king’s troops to help put down the rebellion. In response, blacks from North Carolina, as well as Virginia, joined Dunmore’s forces and donned uniforms emblazoned with the phrase “Liberty to Slaves.”¹⁸

In mid-1775, hoping to prevent slaves from responding to Loyalist urgings to rise and free themselves, local authorities in North Carolina’s Albemarle region decided to increase the number and frequency of night patrols, and called on all adult male residents, including Quakers, to participate in the patrols. Appointed captain of one of the company of patrollers, George Walton refused to serve and counseled fellow Quakers to follow his example. He objected to Quaker participation in the patrols since it was wrong to deny fellow human beings their natural freedom, and participation in the patrols would inevitably involve Quakers in the use of violence—in violation of the Quaker peace testimony—in subduing blacks found violating curfew, or in putting down blacks in open revolt. Quakers, Walton points out, had no more justification in taking up arms to resist blacks than they had joining the army to resist British tyranny.¹⁹

The North Carolina government, suspicious of the Quakers’ Loyalist leanings and fearful of servile insurrection, reacted in alarm when Friends began setting slaves free in late 1776 and early 1777.

Even when, in February 1777, Thomas Newby sought to comply with the legal requirements by petitioning the county court for permission to free his slave Hannah as a reward for her services as a skilled midwife to both blacks and whites, the court denied the

petition.²⁰ Viewing the wholesale manumission of blacks as both unlawful and irresponsible, the General Assembly enacted a law authorizing any freeholder to apprehend such illegally freed slaves to be delivered to the county sheriff, who was to sell them at the next session of the county court. As an incentive, one-fifth of the sale price went to the freeholders who apprehended the freed slaves; the balance went into the state treasury.²¹

Walton attended at least one court session in which lawyers were engaged by the Yearly Committee on behalf of blacks that had been taken up under the new law.²² In 1779 he signed a petition to the General Assembly in which Friends who had freed their slaves explained that they had acted on their convictions that freedom was a natural right the blacks had not forfeited and that slaveholding was unchristian.²³

Denouement

Neither the story of North Carolina Quaker manumission nor the story of George Walton had a happy ending. Year after year, the Yearly Meeting petitioned the state assembly to change the law so that those who wanted to could free their slaves, and the assembly invariably refused to alter the law. County courts continued to take up and re-enslave those blacks the Quakers did set free. In 1797, the Yearly Meeting sent the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings an accounting of 134 blacks that North Carolina Quakers had freed since the 1770s and who had been re-enslaved, saying that there were more whose cases could not be documented in the available records. One of the 134 emancipated slaves listed as having been taken up and sold was a black woman named Dinah who had been set free by George Walton.²⁴

About 1783 things began going wrong for George Walton. In that year, he was complained against for frequent inebriation. George confessed his fault and promised to try to conquer his weakness and the Monthly Meeting passed by his offense. In 1788 reports of George's excessive drinking revived, along with similar complaints against his wife, Mary. After having the cases under care for several months, the meeting expelled husband and wife from unity because of their incorrigible alcoholism, Mary in December 1788 and George in Feb-

ruary 1789.²⁵ The Walton couple's later alcoholism suggests a new and ironic meaning for George's 1773 dream of a grape arbor, in his relating of which he notes that he came to love grapes through marrying his wife. George died in December of the year of his disownment, and in 1792 Mary followed him to the grave.

End Notes

¹ Walton's account of his dream is in the George Walton Papers, Americana Collection, No. 3988, National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, D.C., hereafter cited as George Walton Papers.

² Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, 4/3/1773, 6/2/1773, 7/7/1773, 8/8/1773, 6/5/1776, 7/3/1776, North Carolina Yearly Meeting Archives, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C., cited hereafter as Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes; Ancestry.com, comp. *North Carolina Marriage Bonds, 1741-1868*, database online (Provo, Utah: MyFamily.com, Inc., 2000), original data: State of North Carolina, *An Index to Marriage Bonds Filed in the North Carolina State Archives* (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1977); Jordan Dodd, *North Carolina Marriages to 1825*, database online (Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com, 1997); FamilySearch Ancestral File, version 4.19, databases online (<http://www.familysearch.org>, accessed various dates, 2005); FamilySearch Pedigree Resource File, database online (<http://www.familysearch.org>, accessed 07/28/2005); FamilySearch International Genealogical Index version 5.0 (<http://www.familysearch.org>, accessed 07/28/2005); Mrs. Watson Winslow (Ellen Good Rawlings), *History of Perquimans County* (Raleigh, N.C., 1931; reprint ed., Baltimore, Md.: Regional Publishing Co., 1974) 310.

³ Mechal Sobel, *Teach Me Dreams: The Search for Self in the Revolutionary Era* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 62-86.

⁴ George Walton Papers.

⁵ Ibid

⁶ The most useful investigations of the manumission movement among Revolutionary era North Carolina Friends are, in chronological order: Meetings for Sufferings of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, *A Narrative of some of the proceedings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting on the Subject of Slavery Within Its Limits* (Greensborough, N.C., 1848); Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (1896; reprint ed., N.Y.: Bergman, 1968),

199-244; Hiram H. Hilty, *Toward Freedom for All: North Carolina Quakers and Slavery* (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1984); Hilty, *By Land and by Sea: Quakers Confront Slavery and its Aftermath in North Carolina* (Greensboro, N.C.: North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1993); and Katherine Dungy, "A Friend in Deed: Quakers and Manumission in Perquimans County, North Carolina, 1775-1800," *The Southern Friend* 24 (2002): 3-36.

⁷ Minutes of North Carolina Friends Yearly Meeting, 1768, 1772, 1773, North Carolina Yearly Meeting Archives, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C., hereafter cited as Minutes of North Carolina Friends Yearly Meeting.

⁸ Ibid. 1772

⁹ George Walton to Thomas Newby, 11 Aug. 1774, George Walton Papers.

¹⁰ Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, 4/6/1774, 5/4/1774, 8/3/1774; Minutes of the Standing Committee, Eastern Quarter, 4/14/1774, North Carolina Yearly Meeting Archives, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C., hereafter cited as Minutes of the Standing Committee.

¹¹ George Walton to Thomas Newby, 8/11/1774, and George Walton to Francis Jones, 8/12/1774, George Walton Papers.

¹² George Walton to Francis Jones, 8/12/1774, George Walton Papers.

¹³ Minutes of North Carolina Friends Yearly Meeting, 1775.

¹⁴ Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, 3/6/1776.

¹⁵ Minutes of North Carolina Friends Yearly Meeting, 1776; Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, 12/4/1776.

¹⁶ Some secondary accounts give eleven as the number of Friends who manumitted their slaves, basing the number on the names listed in the Yearly Meeting Minutes for 1779. But the minutes for the Standing Committee, from which the text in the Yearly Meeting Minutes is drawn, has the names of four additional men. For Walton's visits to fellow Quakers regarding freeing their slaves, see Walton's journal in the George Walton Papers. Before the end of the eighteenth century, at least fifty-eight Friends in Chowan, Pasquotank, and Perquimans Counties would emancipate their slaves, according to a list printed in *Memorial and Address of the People called Quakers, from their Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia, by*

Adjournments, from the 25th of the 9th Month, to the 29th of the same inclusive, 1797 (Philadelphia, Pa., 1797).

¹⁷ Minutes of North Carolina Friends Yearly Meeting, 1778-1783; Minutes of the Standing Committee, 10/26/1778, 10/25/1779, 2/25/1781, 1/4/1783, 12/31/1785; Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2/5/1777, 8/6/1777, 5/5/1778, 11/4/1778, 12/1/1779, 2/25/1781, 12/5/1781, 7/3/1782.

¹⁸ Jeffrey J. Crow, *The Black Experience in Revolutionary North Carolina* (Raleigh, N.C.: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1977) 55-61.

¹⁹ George Walton's journal, 6/2/1775-10/12/1777, George Walton Papers.

²⁰ The text of Newby's petition is printed in Robert M. Calhoun, *Religion and the American Revolution in North Carolina* (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1976) 46.

²¹ Chapter VI, An Act to prevent domestic insurrection, and for other Purposes, in Walter Clark, comp. and ed., *The State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. 24, *Laws 1777-1788* (1905; reprint ed., Wilmington, N.C., Broadfoot Publishing, 1994) 14-15.

²² George Walton's journal, 6/2/1775-10/12/1777, George Walton Papers.

²³ Minutes of the Standing Committee, 10/25/1779.

²⁴ Standing Committee of the Eastern Quarter of the Yearly Meeting in North Carolina to the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia, 1/9/1797, in the Minutes of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting, Meeting for Sufferings, 2/16/1797, Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.; *Memorial and Address of the People called Quakers*, 4.

²⁵ Perquimans Monthly Meeting Minutes, 11/5/1783, 4/7/1784, 5/7/1788, 2/4/1789; Perquimans Monthly Meeting Women's Minutes, 11/5/1788, 12/3/1788, North Carolina Yearly Meeting Archives, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N.C.

A Young Mendenhall in an Abolitionist Family: Learning Songs from Sojourner Truth and Listening to Frederick Douglass

By Theodor Benfey

Introduction: My encounters with the Mendenhalls.

The name Mendenhall entered my awareness long before 1973 when I joined the Guilford College faculty to teach chemistry and history of science. In 1949 I had married Rachel Elizabeth Thomas of Guilford's class of 1948 and she very early told me of Mary Hobbs Hall, the cooperative dormitory that had been her home for four years. The dorm, I soon learned, was named in honor of Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, wife of Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, the college's first president. On moving to Guilford I learned of the Mendenhall plantation in Jamestown, and noticed the Mendenhall Middle School and Mendenhall Street in downtown Greensboro. Some years later, Rachel's brother John Wesley Thomas discovered that he and Rachel were themselves Mendenhall descendants, tracing lineage back to Margery Mendenhall, the earliest member of the family to arrive in this country.¹ Rachel and I met while she was teaching at Haverford Friends School and I at Haverford College. In 1956 we moved to Earlham where Jackson Bailey had established a Japanese studies center. A remarkable fringe benefit was associated with the center.

Theodor Benfey has taught at Haverford, Earlham, and Guilford Colleges. He was born in Germany, educated (B.Sc. and Ph.D.) during World War II in University College, London. After retirement from Guilford he was editor at the Chemical Heritage Foundation in Philadelphia, returning in 1996 to be part of Friends Homes. He and his wife Rachel are members of Friendship Meeting, NC Yearly Meeting (Conservative).

Every year one Earlham faculty member could be sent to Japan on a Fulbright/Hays Fellowship to be “deprovincialized”, to learn of the Japanese and Chinese contributions to his field. One day Jack Bailey asked me if I was open to spending a year in Japan. In my ignorance I countered that I didn’t think the Orient had much that would help me in my teaching. How wrong I was. I was not even aware that Joseph Needham was publishing a multivolume masterpiece, *Science and Civilization in China*.

Rachel and I accordingly spent 1970-71 in Japan, one of our sons decided to settle there, and we have spent another full year and several summers in that country. During our second year-long stay in 1985-6 at International Christian University I met the historian of science Masao Watanabe and discovered his book on the way the Japanese related to Western science once they had opened themselves to Western influence in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In 1853 Commodore Matthew Perry’s black ships had arrived in Edo (now Tokyo) Bay, ending Japan’s centuries-long seclusion. Watanabe’s book was in Japanese, which I could not read, but one day I was shown a German translation. Since no book in English that I knew of had dealt with the theme, I resolved to translate it with the author’s help.² And, not far into the book I again came across the Mendenhall name.

When the new Japanese leaders of the nineteenth century decided to learn from the West, and in all respects catch up with Western achievements, they recruited British and American teachers and scholars to introduce Western ideas, methods, and discoveries into Japanese academic institutions. One of these teachers had been Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, a physicist from the then recently established Ohio State University.

When I learned of this, I was eager to find out more about him and particularly about the extent, if any, of his Quaker background. His large collection of papers is preserved in the Center for the History of Physics, part of the American Institute of Physics. To my surprise and delight the papers included his extensive autobiographical notes, a small section of which is reproduced here as Part III.³ A later section of the notes, describing his three years in Japan, has been published, edited with notes by Richard Rubinger.⁴

*Mendenhall had one child, a son Charles, who became a physicist at the University of Wisconsin, and a grandson Thomas Corwin Mendenhall II, historian and later president of Smith College in Massachusetts. The latter wrote a brief and very helpful foreword to Rubinger's book describing his grandfather's life before and after his Japanese sojourn. Some hints of Quaker connections appear there. He graciously responded to some questions I had sent to him and mentioned in his letter that he had once visited Guilford and was surprised to learn of the number of Mendenhalls living in the area. Regarding Quakerism he wrote, "I am afraid that Quakerism disappeared two generations ago in our branch of the family. Both my grandfather and father were scientists first." The slow changes occurring in young Mendenhall's family can be gleaned in a revealing entry in his notes: After a busy time preparing and cooking apples, the family often played various games: "very rarely a little dancing – a kind of quaker dancing – to the music of the human voice – but in later years, when we had in a measure gotten away from the strictest of quaker discipline, there was real 'country dancing' to the music of a violin which one of my brothers usually played."*⁵

Part II. Thomas Corwin Mendenhall 1841-1924

Thomas Corwin Mendenhall's autobiographical notes are carefully hand-written and remarkably legible. They are in six notebooks of one hundred and fifty pages each, bound expressly for him in half leather. He wrote them because he was sad that no such notes from earlier generations had been recorded as he states at the beginning of his account:

Having always regretted that my father and my grandfather did not prepare, for the benefit of those who were to come after them at least a brief account of their lives, an account relating especially to the many details of daily life which are usually regarded as trivial and therefore generally go unnoticed in books; and having lived during the better part of that century in which occurred the most marked changes in methods of transportation, household economy, and the general social environment, I long ago determined that when a period of leisure came to me I would spend a share of it in preparing a series of autobiographical notes such as I greatly regret I did not in-



Thomas Corwin Mendenhall

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Susan Marple Mendenhall

The photographs are reproduced here from the Archives of the American Institute of Physics: Credit AIP Emilio Segre Visual Archives.

herit from one or more of my ancestors.

These notes were written in a ten-year period in Europe starting in 1901 during a time of rest and recuperation from what was probably exhaustion from intensive work. To my great delight he wrote at length of his early years. His father Stephen was a Quaker but, because he married a non-Quaker, he was read out of Meeting. Nevertheless for the rest of his life he addressed people as *thee* and *thou*, and his family maintained a life style very much in keeping with traditional Quaker convictions, practicing “the simple life, frugality, sincerity, plainness of speech and dress, temperance, and the abolition of slavery.” During the Civil War, totally opposed to fighting though agreeing with the aims of the North, Stephen served as a hospital nurse.

Stephen, with his recently married wife Mary Thomas, had left Philadelphia to create their new home on a farm near Hanoverton, in Columbiana County, Ohio, close to the Pennsylvania border. There they had three sons and two daughters, the youngest son Thomas being born in 1841. He was named Thomas Corwin after a much loved Governor of Ohio, later U.S. Secretary of the Treasury. Stephen Mendenhall was a farmer and carriage maker and thus his son was able to have first-hand experience of many practical skills useful to him later. He learned blacksmithing from a neighbor. Young Thomas also loved reading. He had the good fortune of having an early Quaker teacher Lydia Ann Arnold, who, wherever possible, taught science through experiments. Thus she used the students’ shawls to darken the schoolroom leaving a very small opening to demonstrate the principles of a pinhole camera—boys playing outside were vividly displayed on the classroom ceiling. By 1858 when not yet seventeen, Mendenhall became the assistant to the principal in Marlboro in Stark County where the family was now living. He studied briefly at Western Reserve College and for a year at the Southwest Normal School of Lebanon, Ohio, where he received his only earned degree, I.N., *Instructor Normalis*. He was becoming known as an excellent teacher and in 1873, when the Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College – later to become Ohio State University – opened, Mendenhall was appointed to the chair of phys-

ics and mechanics. Three years earlier he had married Susan Marple, a former student at a high school where he had been teaching. Their marriage lasted for forty-six years until her death in 1916.

Five years after the Ohio State appointment, the zoologist Edward Sylvester Morse visited Columbus and gave lectures about the homes and art of Japan that he had studied in detail while teaching there.⁶ He was looking for a physicist and a philosopher to become his colleagues at Tokyo University and convinced Mendenhall and Ernest Fenollosa to join him. The thirty-seven-year old Mendenhall with his wife and 6-year old son Charles thereupon packed their belongings, his science library, their *Encyclopedia Britannica*, as well as equipment for physics teaching, demonstrations, and research for their stay in Japan. Looking back on that period many years later he wrote, "...I cannot but look upon my three years with these well-mannered, good tempered, ambitious, and intellectually strong men as being, in most respects, the pleasantest and best of all my professional years."

One remarkable achievement was his determining the density of the earth and hence the earth's mass by measuring the difference in the force of gravity at sea level and at the top of Mount Fuji. This was done by measuring the minute difference in time of a pendulum swing in the two locations. Rubinger writes at length of Mendenhall's major contributions to science education, both in Japan and America.

After Japan, Mendenhall returned to Ohio State University but soon, in 1884 moved to Washington to become professor of electrical science in the U. S. Signal Corps. After the 1886 Charleston earthquake he saw to it that earthquake observation stations were set up all over the country. He then accepted the presidency of Rose Polytechnic Institute in Terra Haute, Indiana, but returned to Washington three years later to become superintendent of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. He found five years in the midst of the Washington politics of the period were sufficient, so in 1894 he accepted the presidency of Worcester Polytechnic Institute in Massachusetts. According to Rubinger, Mendenhall was one of the leading men in late nineteenth century science. He stayed in that demanding Worcester presidency for seven years. There followed the ten-year stay in Europe and a six-month visit to Egypt, ending with a

trip around the world. That respite revived him for a return to an active life as a trustee of Ohio State while he and his wife created their new home in Ravenna, not far from Cleveland and Columbus, or from Marlboro where he had first started teaching.⁷

**Part III. Thomas Corwin Mendenhall's Autobiography:
The Section on Abolition**

The one great interest of my early life was in the question of negro slavery for the abolition of which my father and mother worked in their humble way - in season and out of season. The entire family, in fact, was devotedly attached to the "Anti-Slavery" cause - belonging to the most radical wing of the body known as "abolitionists" - that is to say they favored the dissolution of the union - complete and immediate - in order that the North might no longer be responsible for the maintenance of human slavery and they believed that when this was accomplished the South would not be able, of itself, to maintain the system for a week. It is quite unnecessary for me to discuss here a movement which influenced more than anything else the mighty changes in our country that were brought about by the Civil War beginning in 1861 for it is all written in the history of the Country. I will content myself with a very few brief references to that movement as it entered into and affected the years of my boyhood and youth. From my earliest childhood I was taught to have no "color prejudice" and I never remember having the slightest feeling about associating with "color" people or negroes.

I remember very well and can sing at this moment songs that I learned more than fifty years ago from "Sojourner Truth" a famous negress - once a slave in New York state and who was an active champion of the rights of her race during a long and eventful life. Although ignorant and uneducated she was a woman of really great intellectual power and eloquence. She died only a few years ago in Michigan, I think at an age estimated to be considerably over a hundred years. Her life is a part of the history of the period - and will be found in it. I used to sit upon her knee and she sang the songs which I learned. I remember being somewhat afraid of her as a child, although she was a frequent visitor at my father's house. I was actually present - a small boy - and sitting on the ground just in front of her when, at an "Anniversary" of

the Anti-slavery Society (the Western – one of the two great branches) at Salem, Ohio – she made that famous remark to Fred Douglass, so often appearing in the literature of the period. Douglass was making a very pessimistic speech – the prospects for “Freedom” were very gloomy at that time and he had declared that he did not feel sure that slavery would ever be abolished – or something to that effect. “Sojourner” who was seated on the platform not far away from him sprang to her feet and extending her long thin arm and her long bony finger towards him in an almost violent way exclaimed - “Frederick – is God dead?” The effect on the audience was very remarkable for hers was a gaunt – tall – and most impressive figure. “Parker Pillsbury” one of the old wheel horses of “Abolition” was often a guest with us and I once drove him seven miles to the railroad station (from Marlboro to Alliance) listening to his brilliant conversation with great delight all the way. About forty years later when I lived in Washington as Supt. of the U.S. Coast Survey I received a very interesting letter from him – asking if I was the small boy he remembered “before the war” and he afterwards sent me an autographed copy of his last book. I remember seeing William Lloyd Garrison once or twice and, indeed, nearly all of the great anti-slavery advocates were occasionally seen at the Annual Meeting of the Western Anti-slavery Society which was always, I think, held at Salem. These meetings were the great event of the year with us. They were generally, or often at least, held in a large tent and had almost the appearance of a “camp meeting”. Salem was for years the principal headquarters of Western Abolitionists. There was published a weekly paper in the interests of the movement called “The Anti-Slavery Bugle” and it blew no uncertain sound. It was regularly read in our family and I remember when we had in our garret several barrels of old copies. I have always greatly regretted that they were not preserved. I have in my library in Worcester a single copy only of this paper. Garrison’s paper “The Liberator” was also taken and read – and much – yeah /sic/ most - of the literature of my early youth was of this kind. While still living at Hanoverton I cannot give the year - but immediately after its publication we all read “Uncle Tom’s Cabin” and I can well remember the emotions excited by its perusal.

In common with practically every anti-slavery family of the time, we furnished rest and assistance to escaping negro slaves; in other words our house was one of the many stations of the famous “underground railway” by means of which slaves escaping from their masters were carried along and assisted in reaching Canada. As we were not many miles from the Ohio river which formed the boundary between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding states, and about as many from Lake Erie which separated us from the land of absolute “Freedom” – our route was a popular one and I remember many instances of the arrival and departure of negroes – mostly at night – for all work of this kind had to be done very quietly and secretly. My father and mother were always ready and anxious to sacrifice anything they had to further the “cause” in which they were so much interested and their children were not far behind them. I remember that for a considerable time we avoided the use of anything which was the product of slave labor – which involved really considerable hardship – even to families of our limited resources. For many years my father refused to vote in national election or to recognize in any way the existence or authority of the national government – because of its support of the South in their many demands upon the North – such as for the capture and return of fugitive slaves etc. etc. And in this case there was always a considerable feeling in favor of defying the government in its attempt to enforce the laws of Congress. “Rescues” of slaves captured by government officers were not uncommon – and I well remember the excitement incident to an attempted rescue of a slave at Limaville, Ohio, between Cleveland and Pittsburg (*sic*) – a station through which the train carrying the captured slave was to pass. This station was near the village of Marlboro and much of the planning for the re-capture was made there. The attempt failed, however, through the treachery of someone who telegraphed the Railway Authorities of the plans and the train was hurled past the small station at high speed – no stop being made – although it was a regular stopping place for that train. I was present myself on this occasion and remember the crowd of slavery haters, armed with guns, pistols, forks, scythes, and almost every conceivable weapon and their great anger on being defeated in the manner described. Some of my boyhood friends and acquaintances went to Kansas in the “fifties” to

help make Kansas a free state – and help they did in a most vigorous fashion. John Brown’s raid in Virginia was greatly admired and was idolized by us all. His plans were known by and talked of among a select few in our neighborhood before the movement actually took place. I think my father was one of these, and I well remember a strong feeling that “something of great importance” was being arranged for and even that volunteers for this movement were sought for in our own circle. As a matter of fact, one of the “raiders” one Coppock was from a place not far from Salem and his body, after hanging in Virginia, was brought to Salem for burial. My father and mother attended the funeral – which was the largest that had ever been known in that part of the country.⁸

Endnotes

¹ John Wesley Thomas. *My Quaker Families: A Story of Margery Mendenhall Marti*, (n.p., by the author, 1995). A copy is in the Quaker Collection at Hege Library, Guilford College. Mary Mendenhall Hobbs is descended from Margery’s brother John, while Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, the subject of this article, comes from a second brother, Benjamin.

² Masao Watanabe. *The Japanese and Western Science*, translated by Otto Theodor Benfey (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990). Translation of Masao Watanabe, *Nihonjin to Kindai Kagaku* (Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten, 1976).

³ The American Institute of Physics together with its Center for the History of Physics was in New York City when I visited it but is now located in the University of Maryland, College Park. The Thomas Corwin Mendenhall Collection includes, besides the autobiographical notes, published articles, photographs, correspondence, and obituaries. The section on abolition reproduced as Part III in this article is a transcription of pages 94 to 103 of the hand-written autobiographical notes. The Mendenhall archives are scheduled to be transferred during 2006 to Worcester Polytechnic Institute, which already owns extensive Mendenhall material from the time of Thomas C. Mendenhall’s presidency there.

⁴ Thomas C. Mendenhall. *An American Scientist in Early Meiji Japan: The autobiographical notes of Thomas C. Mendenhall*. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by Richard Rubinger (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1989).

⁵ Autobiographical Notes, 52. See Endnote 3.

⁶ Edward S. Morse. *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings* (Boston: Ticknor, 1886; reprinted New York: Dover Publications, 1961).

⁷ For a broader perspective on the interaction of American and Japanese scholars, artists, and teachers in the late nineteenth century, see Christopher Benfey. *The Great Wave: Gilded Age Misfits, Japanese Eccentrics, and the Opening of Old Japan*. (New York: Random House, 2004).

Acknowledgements

This work was partly supported by a grant-in-aid from the Friends of the Center for the History of Physics, American Institute of Physics. My thanks go particularly to Spencer R. Weart, head of the Institute, for his help and advice.

My thanks to Dory Blobner of Waunakee, Wisconsin, holder of her family's copyright, for permission to quote from Thomas Corwin Mendenhall's "Autobiographical Notes" and for the use of his photograph and that of his wife. Dory Blobner is the great-granddaughter of Thomas Corwin Mendenhall and is an attendee at the Madison Friends Meeting in Wisconsin.

Set Thy House in Order: George C. Mendenhall's New Order of Carolina Quakerism

By Benjamin Briggs

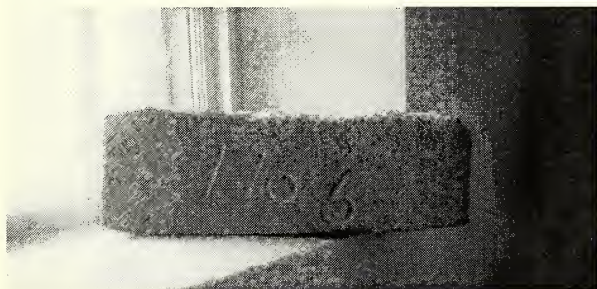
By his own admission, George Cameron Mendenhall did not know the date of his own birth.¹ George was the youngest of eleven children. Perhaps in the routine of childbirth in the rambling Mendenhall home in Jamestown, North Carolina, no one thought to chronicle the moment. In spite of his unremarkable birth, George led a remarkable life. It spanned a period of rapid change in North Carolina, as the state developed from an agricultural, rural, slave-based economy to an industrial, increasingly urban, and non-slave-based economy. Within his profession as a lawyer, he touched on nearly every major theme of civic and social improvement during the period, including education, manumission, industry, and humanitarianism.

For the period, George's life can be seen in terms of great dichotomy—described as one of the largest slaveholders in Guilford County, yet a freer of enslaved people; an advocate of Quaker ideals, yet not a Quaker; a progressive politician, yet keenly aware of history.

Benjamin Briggs is a native of High Point and a lifelong member of High Point Friends Meeting. Benjamin graduated from North Carolina State University in 1989 with a degree in architecture and sociology, and from Boston University in 1995 with a master's degree in historic preservation. He is best known in High Point for the restoration of the Ecker House on Johnson Street, the Elihu Mendenhall House on Skeet Club Road, and his own home built in 1843 that has been in his family for six generations. He currently serves as executive director of Preservation Greensboro, Incorporated.

A celebrated historical figure, George's accomplishments and challenges illustrate contrasting ideals of the ante-bellum period in the American South, and help to define Quaker ideologies such as manumission and pacifism during a time of great disagreement and conflict.

Little is known of his early life growing up in Jamestown and attending Deep River Meeting. His childhood



This cornerstone dated 1765 from the James Mendenhall house now rests on a windowsill in the Richard Mendenhall house in Jamestown.
Photo by Fred Browning

home, and indeed his adult home, was erected in 1765 by his grandfather, a fact he could proudly illustrate by pointing to the tall chimney where the date stone was affixed. Grandfather James Mendenhall was also the source of the name of the village of Jamestown, a real estate venture begun by his father George Mendenhall sometime before his death in 1805. The elder George Mendenhall's death forced young George Cameron to rely on his mother and older siblings for guidance; he was twenty-two years younger than his oldest surviving brother Nathan.² He was educated by his mother at an early age, though it is plausible that he was also taught by his older sister Judith, who had a proclivity for teaching.³ His adolescent years were spent with Reverend David Caldwell, a Greensboro minister and educator who operated a college for young men from a log structure known as the "Log College," now an historic site in Greensboro. Caldwell taught law, and educated a generation of legal minds including other members of the Mendenhall family, George's lifelong friend John Motley Morehead of Greensboro, and others.⁴ By the approximate age of 21, he joined the legal bar, and began practicing law—though he attended few courts for the first two years for lack of a horse of his own or the ability to purchase one.⁵

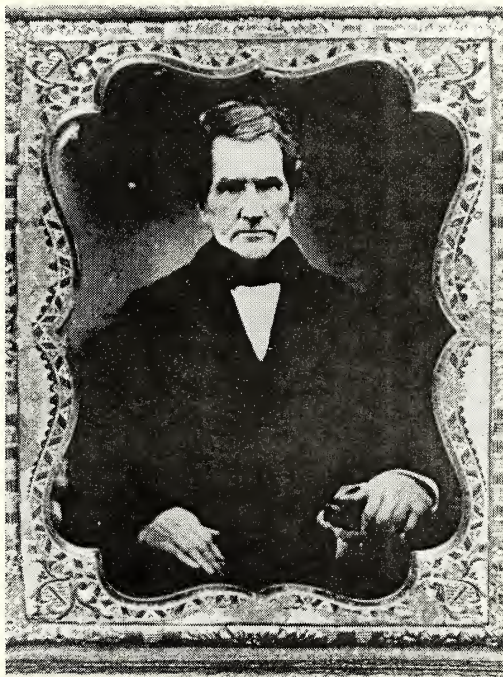


The Mendenhall house, begun in 1765 by James Mendenhall.
Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C.

In the autumn of 1824 George married Eliza Webb Dunn, a non-Quaker from Blakely Plantation in Stanley County. The couple moved into the rambling ancestral family home in which George was reared on the banks of the Deep River. Their marriage immediately set off George's first major character-defining moment in challenging Quaker doctrine. Eliza came into the community with an inheritance of twenty-five slaves, mostly girls.⁶ Members of Deep River Meeting expressed alarm that George accomplished his marriage to a non-Friend (and slaveholder) "contrary to Discipline" and that he exhibited "diviation [*sic*] from plainness both in dress and address."⁷ Discipline required George to seek the meeting's approval to marry any spouse – especially marriage outside of the faith; an approval George apparently did not seek. Ever-principled as a young attorney,

George apparently refused to make apology for his actions, and he was disowned from the meeting for failure to “make satisfaction” (apologize) to members of the meeting.⁸ George never again gained membership to another meeting in spite of his declaration that “he always has [had] made known that his unshaken religious belief was that of the Society of Friends.”⁹ His steadfast decision that resulted in disownment by the Society, reviewed in greater detail in a 1981 article by Damon Hickey, “*Let Not Thy Left Hand Know*,” appears to be a carefully thought-out reaction against restrictions imposed on him by Friends, and perhaps was as much a “line in the sand” drawn by George as it was a line drawn by the meeting.¹⁰

Disownment, as Hickey observed, had additional advantages for Mendenhall, “the main being that he no longer had to worry about being disowned.”¹¹ This freed him to run for public office, and participate in roles in government that were generally declared forbidden by North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1809. Following his 1825 disownment, he began a long career in public service beginning with election to the North Carolina House of Commons for three consecutive terms from 1828 to 1830. This was followed by a term as a state senator in



George Cameron Mendenhall
Friends Historical Collection,
Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C.

1833 before he returned to serve terms in the House in 1840-41 and 1842-43.¹² His career was affiliated with his “Log College” schoolmate, the progressive John Motley Morehead, and characterized

by interests in the court system as well as common schools.¹³ In those veins, he chaired both the House Judiciary Committee as well as the Education Committee, but he also held interests against secession and slavery, and championed internal improvements within the state.¹⁴

Marriage and disownment also played a peculiar role for George in being a Quaker-affiliated slaveholder. Enslaved people came into his life through his wife Eliza Dunn, who was almost instantly converted into an abolitionist through encouragement of George's older brother Richard. She took an instant liking to Richard and respected his careful conscience. It is said that Eliza would have sought becoming a Friend if it had not been for the injudicious action of Deep River disowning her husband for marrying her.¹⁵ The blended marriage of a slaveholder with a birthright Quaker was not unique in the South, but it certainly placed the couple in an unusual circumstance that brought together two contentious movements in American history; a role George would balance for the remainder of his life.

Eliza died in 1826 shortly after the birth of their only child James Ruffin. Care of the baby was passed along to his brother and sister-in-law Richard and Mary, who added the child to their brood of seven, thus intensifying the deep and affectionate partnership between the two families and their homes in Jamestown.¹⁶

The exact number of enslaved people inherited by George upon Eliza's death in 1826 is not known, but the number was thought to be around twenty-five.¹⁷ Family historian Mary Mendenhall Hobbs indicated that the number of slaves actually increased in the months and years after their marriage, partly because he "never sold a slave, but he bought several who came to him pleading that he would not allow them to be put up at public auction and very likely sent into the more southern states."¹⁸ Hobbs reported that these enslaved workers "were well fed, well clothed, and each family had its own cabin on the bluff down the river."¹⁹ Guilford historian Sallie Stockard remembered Mendenhall as a prominent and wealthy slave-owner (among many other accomplishments), indicating the entrenched public perception that he was a slaveholder of prominence.²⁰

George Mendenhall declared himself the largest slaveholder in his native county, owning over 100 slaves by 1855.²¹

In her last will and testament, Eliza requested that those enslaved through her family be set free, and there are at least two reports in which George was directly challenged by Friends to consider freeing his people.²² The issue was not addressed for some time after Eliza's death, a period in which George was an active politician in Raleigh and an active lawyer statewide.²³ In 1832 George married Delphina E. Gardner, a Friend from nearby Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, who was admired for her "rare intelligence and spiritual power."²⁴ Delphina was a solid Friend, described by Quaker John Greenleaf Whittier as a "Whole Quarterly Meeting in herself." Upon marriage, she moved her membership from Cane Creek to Deep River (carefully apologizing for marrying outside the network of the Society of Friends), where she participated in a national dialog that set Quaker ideology and culture for decades.²⁵

In terms of sanctioned Quaker advice on the topic of slavery, it might have taken Delphina's encouragement to finally get the ball rolling toward emancipation of the Mendenhall slaves. Systematically, George and Delphina began a process of granting freedom to those who were recognized by law as their property, and carefully transported individuals to Ohio.²⁶ Manumission papers filed in Logan County, Ohio document one of these transfers during the summer of 1854, in which George detailed the purchase of a two-horse wagon and service of Asa Williams to "superintend the whole travel and see my wagon and nine Slaves" out of the slave-holding South. The next summer, he successfully transported twenty-eight slaves to Ohio, ranging in ages from two to fifty-five years of age.²⁷

Those who remained enslaved in North Carolina were often hired out to others for income. The number of leased slaves is not known, but George did make an effort to hire his workers out to people who were humanitarian.²⁸ A ledger of the period records agreements with a variety of lessees, ranging from Jamestown Female College, the Gardner Mine Company, and the railroad, to prominent local Quakers such as Elihu E. Mendenhall and Franklin Briggs.²⁹

A form contract issued by George Mendenhall to lessee Clarkson Tomlinson provides some insights on the terms of hiring his

enslaved workers. "This person is bound to furnish the negroes," the contract states, "each with three good and full suits of clothes, of sufficient size and length, ready mady [*sic*] for wearing, and made of new good materials; –one suit of which shall be for Winter, and the Frock, Tippet, Coat, [pantaloon and vest crossed out] shall be made of substantial cloth, of which at least half shall be of wool; –one Hat or Bonnet; one new Blanket of sufficient size; Two good pair of Shoes, and two good pair of Stockings well made, and long Stockings for the girls, made of good materials." The document seems to indicate careful wordsmanship that is reflective of Mendenhall's frustration with the care of his enslaved workers by lessees, especially in terms of quality of cloth and clothing. Four more points are outlined by Mendenhall as terms of the contract, including the requirement to "pay the Physicians' Bills, and the Taxes, and treat said slaves humanely." The last point is perhaps most indicative of Mendenhall's feelings for those under his stewardship, included the requirement of the "return of said negroes to George C. Mendenhall, on the 25th day of December 185[1]."³⁰

Oftentimes, his workers were skilled. George's ancestral plantation offered the perfect grounds for enslaved workers to develop marketable skills. Mary Mendenhall Hobbs remembered that "A grist mill, a saw mill, a blacksmith shop, a carpenter shop, and a large farm" associated with the old property – so extensive that it "could not give employment to all of his Negroes and he was obliged to send many of them from home to labor for other things, a thing he very much depreciated."³¹ Sallie Stockard recalled that "George C. Mendenhall had a large system of industrial labor on his farm. His slaves were all special workmen. Being taught a trade they worked at it, not in running around from one thing to another. He introduced the system that prevailed among white people. In his store a negro clerk sold and bought goods. His harness shop was kept by a slave, a set of whose harness before the Civil War took first premium at the State Fair. His carpenter helped build the capital at Raleigh, NC. His caterer was sent to wait on President Buchanan when he visited the University of North Carolina. George Mendenhall had a shoe shop; a work shop in which were made plows, rakes, hoes, etc; a large flour

mill, cotton gin, tanyard and farm, all worked by specially skilled negro slaves.”³²

Ironically, Mendenhall's ownership of slaves in a slaveholding state did little to appease those in slaveholding political circles. He ran for U.S. Congress against Edmund Deberry, a Whig from Montgomery County in 1843. He lost the election by ninety votes “on grounds that he was born and brought up a Quaker, and that they were opposed to slavery.”³³ This campaign observation was made in spite of the reality that Mendenhall was the largest slaveholder in Guilford County.³⁴

Mendenhall's professional and political life was defined by Quaker sensibilities toward human rights, education, and progressive government. He took on a role as spokesman for area Friends, arguing for better treatment of prisoners and convicts, advocating antislavery legislation, and promoting advancement of education. Oftentimes, he acted as a conduit between Friends and mainstream Southern culture. In 1833, for example, he introduced a bill to establish the New Garden Boarding School, a name that deliberately omitted use of the word “Friends” in order to dodge rising anti-Quaker sentiment in the state Senate.³⁵ The effort to establish the school had been stalled by political foes for years, but with George's assistance, it passed.

Politically, Mendenhall is remembered as a friend of North Carolina's Whig Governor John Motley Morehead, he too an advocate for preservation of the Union, and a promoter of internal improvements. Mendenhall's personal upbringing might have influenced additional political concerns that deviated from North Carolina's political mainstream, including his role as a supporter of anti-slavery efforts and protector of abolitionists. He is remembered for his defense of Quaker hat maker David Beard, charged with “harbouring and concealing a slave absconded from his claimer Elias Elliott” in 1844. He also defended two Wesleyan Methodist ministers, Jesse McBride and Adam Crooks, charged with giving an antislavery pamphlet to the little daughter of a white family that owned no slaves.³⁶ Mendenhall worked in tandem with John Motley Morehead's brother James T. Morehead to defend the case in Forsyth County in 1849 and 1850. Despite the cry on the street for immediate

hanging, McBride was convicted and received a sentence of twenty lashes, an hour in the pillory, and imprisonment of one year. In 1851 a mob assembled in Colfax with the purpose of taking McBride out of the state, and a few days later he left on his own accord for Ohio. In time, Crooks was dragged from the pulpit of Lovejoy Chapel in Montgomery County and jailed, and he, too, left the state a short time later.³⁷

In terms of advancing education, few could rival Mendenhall's involvement in Guilford County's instructional institutions. Early in his career, he established a small law school near Jamestown named "Telmont." Though a comprehensive list of attendees has not yet been located, Greensboro's Judge Robert Dick is known to have studied under Mendenhall before 1845.³⁸ As noted earlier, Mendenhall was instrumental in acquiring a charter for the New Garden Boarding School (later Guilford College) in 1833. He served as a Trustee of the University of North Carolina and provided two years of leadership as president of Greensborough Female College beginning in 1847.³⁹ In 1859, Mendenhall helped to establish the Jamestown Female College, an institution sponsored by the Western North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church.⁴⁰ With an enrollment of one hundred students, the college was open for only a few sessions before it burned down in 1861. Through his political actions as well as voluntary roles as a board member with several institutions, Mendenhall contributed to the advancement of education for children and young adults in the years before the Civil War.

Tragically, George and his horse drowned while crossing the Uwharrie River during a flash flood on his way home from court circuit on March 9, 1860. His death was reported in the *Greensborough Patriot*, where he was eulogized "through life he was a believer in the Christian religion, and often lamented that he had not lived in more perfect obedience to its dictates; and some who knew him best, have the same consoling assurance, that a few months previous to his death, he experienced a decided change, and was endeavoring to conform his conduct entirely to the requirements of the Christian character."⁴¹

Delphina, ever diligent, sought to free her slaves as quickly as

possible, as directed in George's last will and testament.⁴² An 1861 attempt to relocate their slaves to Ohio was stopped by an armed mob in Kernersville, and Delphina herself led a later attempt, but appallingly she was forced to leave her people in Suffolk, Virginia.⁴³ Those people who remained in Jamestown suffered with other Southerners during the war, and much of George's estate was used up by these costly efforts.

George C. Mendenhall was the last of his family to live in the ancestral home built by his grandfather James in 1765. Upon his death, Delphina remarked in numerous letters to acquaintances that George had found a particular peace in his final months and days. "With the beginning of this year" she wrote to Richard Junius Mendenhall in 1860, "thy dear Uncle seemed to be earnestly engaged to obey the command, 'set thy house in order'." Though disowned, he did much to define the order of Friends initiatives in North Carolina throughout the mid nineteenth century, a time of great social upheaval and change. He helped to guide the state from an agricultural, rural, slave-based economy to an industrial, increasingly urban, and non-slave-based economy that would continue to grow into the twentieth century. Standing on his principles, guided by Quaker values but not restricted by them, Mendenhall bridged the gap between the idealistic Friends and popular society, partnering with leading statesmen of the era to enact tangible change. As a high-profile citizen, George began to redefine what it meant to be a Quaker in the hearts and minds of his community. George's world was one of



Delphina Gardner Mendenhall
*Friends Historical Collection,
Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C.*

inclusion, not exclusion; and renewal, not reaction. In living as he did, he became the role model for the next generation of Quaker activists who rebuilt the war-torn state decades after his death in a way that was more ordered by George C. Mendenhall than traditional Quaker doctrine.

Terms of Hiring Negroes as follows:

The person is bound to furnish the negroes ^{each} with three good and full suits of clothes, of sufficient size and length, ready made for wearing, and made of new good materials;—one suit of which shall be for Winter, and the Frock, Tippet, Coat, ~~Pantaloons and vest~~, shall be made of substantial cloth, of which at least one half shall be wool;—one Hat or Bonnet; one new Blanket of sufficient size; Two good pair of Shoes, and two good pair of Stockings well made, and long Stockings for the girls, made of good materials, and pay the Physicians' Bills, and the Taxes, and treat said slaves humanely, and return said negroes

to George C. Mendenhall, on the 25th
day of December 1854

GEORGE C. MENDENHALL

Clarkson Tomlinson endorsed this form on the reverse side.
Courtesy High Point Museum, High Point, N. C.

End Notes

¹ William Mendenhall, *History, Correspondence and Pedigrees of the Mendenhalls* (Greenville, Ohio: Charles R. Kemble Press, 1912) 262.

- ² Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, "Old Jamestown," (typescript, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N.C.) 14-16.
- ³ William Mendenhall 262; and Mary A. Browning, *Bending the Twigs in Jamestown: A History of Education in Jamestown, North Carolina 1755-1945*. (Jamestown: Historic Jamestown Society, 2004) 25-26.
- ⁴ Ethel Stephens Arnett, *Greensboro, North Carolina, The County Seat of Guilford* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1955) 71.
- ⁵ William Mendenhall 262.
- ⁶ Journal of James Ruffin Mendenhall, Mendenhall-Hobbs Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N.C. 1856.
- ⁷ Hickey, Damon D., "Let Not Thy Left Hand Know: The Unification of George C. Mendenhall," *The Southern Friend* (North Carolina Friends Historical Society, Spring 1981) 5-6.
- ⁸ Haworth, Cecil E. *Deep River Friends* (Greensboro, N. C.: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1985) 18.
- ⁹ William Mendenhall 262.
- ¹⁰ Hickey 6-7.
- ¹¹ Hickey 7.
- ¹² William Mendenhall 262; Robinson, Blackwell P. and Alexander R. Stoesen. *The History of Guilford County, North Carolina, U.S.A. To 1980, A.D.* (Greensboro: The Guilford County Bicentennial Commission, 1980) 56.
- ¹³ Hobbs, "Nereus Mendenhall" 9.
- ¹⁴ Hickey 13.
- ¹⁵ Allen Jay, *Autobiography* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1910) 233.
- ¹⁶ Hobbs, "Nereus Mendenhall" 255.
- ¹⁷ Ledger Book of James Ruffin Mendenhall, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N.C.

¹⁸ Hobbs, “Nereus Mendenhall” 255. Census records of enslaved people owned by Mendenhall may not represent the full number under his jurisdiction, due to the practice of hiring out workers to individuals throughout the region.

¹⁹ Hobbs, “Nereus Mendenhall” 255.

²⁰ Sallie Stockard W. *The History of Guilford County, North Carolina* (Knoxville: Gant-Ogden, 1902) 54.

²¹ William Mendenhall 262.

²² Hobbs, “Nereus Mendenhall” 255.

²³ Robinson and Stoesen 56.

²⁴ Briggs Family Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, N. C.

²⁵ Hickey 9.

²⁶ Seth B. Hinshaw, *The Carolina Quaker Experience, 1665-1985* (Greensboro: North Carolina Yearly Meeting and North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1984) 132.

²⁷ Art Thomas, *Manumission Papers Filed in Logan County, Ohio*, <http://www.afrigenias.com/forum-fpoc/index.cgi?noframes;read=740> (March 2003).

²⁸ Jay 233-234.

²⁹ Will of George C. Mendenhall, Mendenhall-Hobbs Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N.C.

³⁰ George C. Mendenhall. “Terms of Hiring to be Retained by Clarkson Tomlinson.” High Point Museum Collection, UNAC – Citizens/Residential – Mendenhall, George. n.d.

³¹ Jay 233-234.

³² Stockard 40.

³³ William Mendenhall 262.

³⁴ Hobbs, "Nereus Mendenhall" 255.

³⁵ Stockard 56; Hickey 12.

³⁶ Haworth 41.

³⁷ Guion G. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1937) 576-577.

³⁸ *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography, Vol. II*, ed. by William S. Powell (Chapel Hill: UNC Press,) 63.

³⁹ *Greensborough Patriot*, "Memoir of George C. Mendenhall," 16 March 1860; Samuel Bryant Turrentine, *A Romance Of Education: A Narrative Including Recollections And Other Facts Connected With Greensboro College* (Greensboro, NC: The Piedmont Press, 1946) 36; *Guilford Genealogist*, "Greensborough Patriot: Marriages, Deaths, and other matters of Interest, July – December, 1847," Vol. 29, No. 3. Summer 2002. Issue 98, 150.

⁴⁰ Browning 44-51; and Hinshaw 97.

⁴¹ Delphina E. Mendenhall to Cyrus Mendenhall, III-13-1860, Delphina Mendenhall Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N.C.

⁴² Will of George C. Mendenhall, Mendenhall-Hobbs Papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N.C.; and Ledger Book of James Ruffin Mendenhall.

⁴³ Ledger Book of James Ruffin Mendenhall, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Greensboro, N. C.

Friends Historical Collection Annual Report 2005 – 2006

By Gwendolyn Gosney Erickson

Introduction

It has been an eventful year in the Friends Historical Collection. Several major initiatives came to fruition, such as the hiring of an Archives Associate to provide much needed staffing and the establishment of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society Fund. Other changes were unexpected and less welcome, such as the loss of Hege Library Technical Services Librarian Ruth Richardson Scales, who provided expert original cataloging for our Quaker publications until her death in April. At the end of the year, the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists provided a wonderful opportunity to see first hand the results of research in Quaker archival resources as well as exciting new archival technology.

Notable Events and Projects

As always, support from the yearly meetings and individuals helps services to continue. Guilford College's Friends of the Library embarked on a campaign to create an endowment that will fund the Friends Historical Collection librarian position. Gwen Erickson provided direct support of the public phase of this project by working on the brochure design and assisting with the mailing list. A number of generous donations were received during the fall and a full list of donors to date is provided in the Hege Library Annual Report and the college's honor roll of giving. As mentioned in last year's report, the North Carolina Friends Historical Society proposed to establish a fund in honor of past librarian Carole Treadway to fund special projects. The paperwork and details were completed to make this a reality.

Other projects from the previous year were not as successful. While the actual digitization of the John B. Crenshaw letters was completed and the web site design begun, the full implementation to make it available to the public was postponed. The college's web server needed replacement in Fall 2005 and was not able to handle the additional burden. Since the entire college web page was slated for redesign, it was decided it was best to delay this until the new web editing tools were in place. It is anticipated that all will be complete and live to the public in Fall 2006.

Staff completed an application for a North Carolina State Historical Marker honoring Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, Quaker and advocate for women's education. The application was sent with the sponsorship of Guilford President Kent John Chabotar and Trustees Kathleen Coe and Edward Winslow. While the application was positively received, the commission did not select it for a marker. The Friends Historical Collection will continue to promote the importance of Mary Mendenhall Hobbs as a leader in North Carolina women's education and to pursue other opportunities to honor her as they may arise.

A highlight of the year was the Sixteenth Biennial Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists held in late June, and attended by over fifty participants who came to Guilford. Sessions included presentations about a variety of Quaker history topics, and provided a forum for informative dialog between archivists about their work to preserve and improve access to records. Friends Historical Collection staff handled the logistical arrangements associated with hosting, which involved such as registration details and providing hospitality to a variety of guests coming from as far away as London. Several presenters had used the Friends Historical Collection for their research in the past, and new attendees took advantage of the opportunity to use collection resources by arriving early or staying after the conference.

The other notable summer activity in 2006 was a change in the location of some of our materials. The Peace Studies Reading Room, a component of the Friends Historical Collection since 2001, became the Quaker Periodicals Reading Room. This switch was made following careful consideration of researcher use and space needs.

The non-Quaker peace studies periodicals were incorporated into the main library's holdings. Students will still be able to search for them by subject through the library's online "Journal Finder." Purchase of several periodicals on microfilm allowed many of the older and more fragile publications to be relocated to a secure closed stack area. All other Quaker periodicals are now in Library 120. This move provides additional shelving for our ever-growing collection of other Quaker publications in the Quaker stacks (Library 117). The change allows more publications to remain accessible in public areas and also gives space for a computer terminal and card catalog where individuals can utilize them whenever the library is open.

Staff and Volunteers

The staff expanded this past year to include Archives Associate Elizabeth "Liz" Cook. For the first time in many years the Friends Historical Collection has what may be considered a reasonable minimum staffing level. Liz joined the staff in August 2005 and is in the collection thirty hours each week. Her primary responsibilities are for work with the college archives and implementing the records management policy. She also provides invaluable assistance as an additional person to assist with daily operations and has taken on some of the more routine tasks previously handled by Friends Historical Collection Librarian Gwen Gosney Erickson.

J. Timothy "Tim" Cole, who joined the staff in August 2004, continued as the North Carolina Yearly Meeting Archives Assistant. In addition to his primary responsibility of handling incoming meeting records, Tim created a new finding aid for North Carolina Yearly Meeting's Meeting for Sufferings Correspondence and also organized several manuscript collections noted as high priority for processing. Tim's most visible accomplishments were the creation of exhibits on Grace Taylor Rodenbough and Clara I. Cox, which were displayed at the Friends Historical Collection entrance during Spring 2006.

As always, our student staff handled many of the routine tasks such as shelving and photocopying. Sonja Horne served as the summer student assistant in July 2005. Returning student Melissa Guilfoyle assisted for part of Fall 2005 and was joined by new student

Abigail Rogers. Abbie took care of basic shelving and also enjoyed working on special projects such as transcribing manuscripts and documenting our uncataloged books. Senior art major Tara Alan provided skilled stitching to stabilize the Martha Hunt sampler for exhibit at the Charleston Museum of History and surveyed the college's portrait collection in Spring 2006. LaToya Thomas also joined the student staff in Spring 2006 and assisted Liz Cook with reorganization and relabeling of the Guilford College vertical files. Kathleen "Katie" Yow served as the 2006 summer assistant and expertly tackled a number of large summer projects, including the shifting of the Quaker periodicals and completing the cataloging backlog list.

The Friends Historical Collection docent program continues with some additions to replace retirements. J. Wilbert "Wil" Edgerton joined the group as the regular Thursday afternoon person and has assisted with the organization and preservation of early Guilford College registrar's records and registration cards. Wil, a 1940 Guilford graduate and trustee emeritus, has long ties to the college and enjoyed finding entries for family members as he handled college records from the early 1900s. Betsy Farlow resigned as our Friday afternoon volunteer due to health concerns. She remains involved as the president of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society and plans to return as a researcher in the future. Researchers continue to express their appreciation for the assistance they receive. Special recognition must be given to Theodore Perkins, who continues to staff the research room two mornings every week and occasionally assist at other times as well. Ted is such a favorite that genealogical researchers often schedule their trips especially to meet with him and gain his expert assistance.

As has been the practice in alternate fall semesters in recent years, Gwen Erickson offered both basic training and several different advanced topics sessions on Friends Historical Collection resources to docents. Most volunteers were able to participate and it provided an opportunity to update everyone on new acquisitions and review some of the frequently asked questions. It also provided an opportunity for docents to share with one another since their regular schedules never overlap.

The annual docent luncheon in the spring provided another opportunity for the group to gather. Adrienne Byrd, director of the Tannenbaum Park in Greensboro, gave a presentation about new interpretation and programming at the park, which documents an eighteenth century homestead at the site of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse.

Gwen Erickson continued to provide professional services beyond the Friends Historical Collection and Guilford College. She completed her one-year term as President of the Society of North Carolina Archivists in March and now serves as the organization's Education Committee chair. She also continues to serve as an ex officio member of several boards and committees in the Quaker community. After serving as program clerk for several years and most recently local arrangements coordinator for the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists, Gwen agreed to become convener of the steering committee and coordinate planning for the 2008 conference to be held in Birmingham, England. In addition to her regular column in the North Carolina Friends Historical Society Newsletter, she also had book reviews published in *Quaker History* and *North Carolina Historical Review*. On campus, she served on the ad hoc Intellectual Property Task Force and on the search committee for the library's new digital resources librarian. Creation of that new position allowed Gwen to turn over work on the library's web pages and concentrate on the Friends Historical Collection's web page development.

Liz Cook quickly became an integral part of Friends Historical Collection operations. She has been active professionally by joining the Society of North Carolina Archivists and participating in their spring workshops and March meeting in Carrboro, North Carolina. She familiarized herself with Guilford's Quaker heritage through participation in the Quakerism 101 sessions offered by Friends Center in the fall. Her knowledge of Quaker history beyond the introductory level was further enhanced with personal reading and her attendance of the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists in June. She also joined the North Carolina Friends Historical Society and Guilford College's Friends of the Library.

Research and Services

As always, family history researchers and those with an interest in the Underground Railroad and related abolitionist activities were the main visitors to the collection. An increasing number of Guilford students seem to be writing papers on topics relating to the Underground Railroad and other local civil rights issues in general. Most were shorter research papers, but others were more in-depth projects. For example, senior Mary Roach used the Peck Family Papers to research early New Garden Boarding School faculty member and anti-slavery activist Harriet Peck. As usual, reference services were provided in response to telephone, e-mail, and postal mail inquiries. Among the telephone calls were those from journalists writing on topics relating to either Quaker history or Guilford College. Gwen Erickson was quoted correctly in several articles in Greensboro's *News and Record*.

Groups were welcomed by special arrangement to learn about some of the collection's unique resources. A Guilford County high school class and its teachers completed an activity on primary sources. Education Studies faculty member Adam Golub arranged for the group's visit and Friends Historical Collection staff provided access to a number of original documents from the collection relating to their current studies. Various items of interest were also displayed for the Guilford College Friends of the Library open house event in November. Gwen Erickson spoke about genealogical research using Quaker records to the Forsyth County Genealogical Society in Winston-Salem, and to the New Hanover Genealogical Society in Wilmington, North Carolina.

Another outreach opportunity was the first ever statewide Archives Week which was sponsored by the Society of North Carolina Archivists in early October. The Friends Historical Collection participated by adding updates to the departmental web page each day of the week and posting announcements about the collection in the *Guilford Buzz*, the college's daily campus wide update. Liz Cook contributed with a newly drafted brief history of the Friends Historical Collection. The collection also celebrated by hosting the Quaker Life Committee of the college's Board of Trustees for its October meeting.

Graduate students studying archives included the Friends Historical Collection in their research. Surveys were completed for two different projects being done by students at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Gwen Erickson was interviewed and provided a tour for a third project. Project topics included artifacts in archives, digitization projects at small institutions, and collection development and appraisal.

Acquisitions and Collection Development

The Clyde and Ernestine Milner Fund allowed for purchase of new Quaker publications and books with Quaker topics. It also enabled full purchase of the Quaker periodicals microfilm set produced by Haverford College's Quaker Collection. With the completion of this set, the Friends Historical Collection now has a number of titles previously unavailable at Guilford and completes holdings of others. Purchases were supplemented by gifts from individuals. James Woods provided staff with a list of his library and generously donated over a hundred titles and older editions, which were noted as needed. This served as a follow-up to the generous donation of books from Woods' neighbor, Hugh Barbour, last year.

One of the goals for the 2005-2006 year was documentation of our processing and cataloging needs. To that end, a complete list of publications requiring cataloging was created. This list does not include new acquisitions that are quickly processed. It does include all other titles that are not yet in Hege Library's NC-PALS online catalog, such as large gift collections and rare titles requiring original cataloging. This has already proven to be a very useful resource since it provides an easily searchable list that staff can consult when assisting researchers, or when checking our holdings when considering gifts or purchases. This list also enables staff to note cataloging priorities so that a methodical approach can be taken to whittling away the ever-present backlog.

In addition to the routine cataloging of incoming publications, Hege Library's Technical Services Librarian Ruth Scales completed the major task of creating records for all of the published yearly meeting minutes that are held in the Friends Historical Collection. The project included a large amount of very specialized original cataloging and many quirks inherent with classifying the official pub-

lications of multiple organizations, which change over time. Ruth also consulted with Gwen Erickson on priorities for needed projects to improve the cataloging records of previously cataloged Quaker materials, as it has become increasingly apparent that changes are needed to improve online searching and to meet expanding standards. To that end, Ruth and Gwen created a list of problems and potential projects that they could add to and use to document needs for future planning.

Some of the anticipated improvements and new projects relating to cataloging of publications had to be put on hold. Ruth Scales died suddenly and unexpectedly in April. Luckily, she had been in regular communication with Gwen Erickson regarding the cataloging process and had very ably trained her assistant, Liz Johnson. Due to this loss—which even more dramatically impacted the workflow of the Technical Services area of Hege Library—no new cataloging projects were started or planned for the coming year. Liz Johnson has taken on routine cataloging and even managed to improve turn around time in adding new materials. She and Gwen will continue to use the list begun by Ruth and Gwen until time and staffing allow using cataloging interns for special projects.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting Archives

Minutes and records were received from thirty-one different monthly and quarterly meetings, including twenty-two meetings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Friends United Meeting). Records were also received from monthly meetings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) and Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting.

The Records Committee of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Friends United Meeting) continued to fund microfilming of their meeting's records and purchased a fire safe media cabinet to house the film print masters in a secure location. Selected high priority records were taken to Chapel Hill for filming in two batches. The completed film has already benefited researchers by providing a legible copy of the original records that are consulted with some frequency. Unfortunately, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill discontinued their microfilming services in March. Therefore, the materials prepared in the spring could not be filmed and a new vendor is now being sought to continue the microfilming project. This

change caused significant delays in filming. It is hoped that the microfilming project can get back on track in the coming year.

Staff assisted meeting members with reference questions about meeting histories and in locating biographical information about Friends who are no longer living. Researchers from Centre and Spring meetings spent several days reading through minutes as they prepare new meeting histories. Members of the United Society of Friends Women also visited on multiple occasions to research their organization. Members of several other meetings made visits and additional meetings were assisted through telephone inquiries and correspondence.

Guilford College Archives

The development and care of the Guilford College Archives received a huge boost with the hiring of an archives associate. This new position finally gives this section of the Friends Historical Collection some dedicated staff support. Work in this area has taken a two-pronged approach: description and care of current archive holdings, and planning and procedures for college records that should come to the archives in the future. Liz Cook balanced both of these needs and also answered a number of the reference questions and other tasks relating to the college archives. This has been especially useful as requests relating to college archives, both from campus offices and outside researchers, have noticeably increased since 2003-2004 when statistics were collected in this area. Use of materials from college archives has more than doubled with the majority of that increase coming from student use of archival materials. Campus needs, both those related to legal requirements and accreditation, and those due to interests in specific subject areas, are guiding priorities for processing and development of procedures.

Moving materials comprising the Guilford College Archives to the second level of the Friends Historical Collection closed stacks has begun. Materials are moved as Liz completes inventories and preliminary finding aids for each of the record groups. An initial shelf list was completed in October and used as a guide for prioritizing components. The initial phase, including New Garden Boarding School records and Board of Trustees minutes, was completed and the project will continue next year.

The major impetus for the creation of the Archives Associate position was the approval of a Records Management Policy drafted by Gwen Erickson and approved by the college in 2003. This policy clearly states that all records of enduring value come to the College Archives and that oversight of record destruction be done only in consultation with the College Archivist. As a part of implementation, records schedules must be created for all of the college's departments and programs. First priority areas were identified for completion in 2005-2006. Liz Cook completed draft schedules for the five offices most directly concerned with student records as a first step. Other schedules are in process. The record schedules used by departments at Davidson College are used as needed until Guilford specific schedules are completed for all areas.

The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) illustrated the value of archives and clear policies on record preservation through the college's process of reaccreditation. Numerous requests were received relating to documentation of college policies and programs. Staff assisted when able and also provided user copies of core documents for scanning, such as trustee and faculty minutes, so that all required documentation was electronically available for evaluators.

Awareness of a need for documentation and planning was not limited to the college's accreditation process. Friends Historical Collection Librarian Gwen Erickson spent focused time developing assessment reports both for the current year and future years. In addition to the report required by the library director, Gwen and Liz also developed ways of documenting projects needs within the Friends Historical Collection to assist in prioritizing and pursuing appropriate opportunities for improved collections and services.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Friends United Meeting) Deposits

Meeting Name	Deposit
Archdale	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1/1978 – 11/1978, 1/1979 – 6/1979, 9/1979, 11/1979, 2/1980, and 2000-2002.

The Southern Friend

Meeting Name	Deposit
Cedar Square	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1/2005-12/2005.
Charlotte	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1/2002 – 6/2005; Membership Records, A-W.
Chatham	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2003; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 2003; Chatham Friends Development Fund Financial Records, 1961-2006.
Deep Creek	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2001-2004.
Deep River	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 8/1993 – 5/1995, 7/2001 – 6/2005.
Forbush	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7/2004 – 6/2005.
Goldsboro	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2001 – 2003.
Greensboro	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2005.
Marlboro	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 6/1984 – 12/1990, 1/1991 – 12/1998, and 1/2001 – 12/2003.
Mount Airy	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 11/2002 – 5/2005; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 6/1998 – 12/2005.
New Garden	Minutes, 5/2005 – 4/2006; Records, Volume 7 (1966 – 1991) and Volume 8 (ca. 1990s).
New Hope (CQ)	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1/2005 – 12/2005.
Pilot View	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2005; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 2005.
Piney Woods	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7/1989 – 12/2004.
Science Hill	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7/2004 – 6/2005; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 7/2004 – 6/2005; Quaker Ladies Minutes, 2005.
Southview	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 9/2004 – 5/2005.
Springfield	Ministry & Counsel Minutes, 7/1963 – 8/1982, 7/1987 – 6/1992; Springfield Friends Youth Fellowship Minutes, 1/1957 – 10/1962.
Union Cross	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2005.
Winthrop	Monthly Meeting Minutes and Attachments, 2005; Ministry and Counsel Minutes, 12/1966 –

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Meeting Name	Deposit
	12/1970, 11/1982 – 11/1985, 7/1991 – 12/1996.
Deep River	Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1/2004 – 11/2005.
Western	Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 5/2002 – 5/2003, 11/2004, and 7/2005.

NCYM (FUM) Meeting Newsletters received in 2005 - 2006:
Charlotte, Greensboro, Up River, Deep Creek,
New Garden, Winston-Salem

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) Deposits

Meeting Name	Deposit
Fayetteville	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 7/2004 – 6/2006.
Friendship	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 8/2004 – 6/2005; Ministry and Oversight Minutes, 8/2003 – 6/2005; Corporation Meeting and Minute, 10/2004.
Rich Square	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1/1996 – 3/1998, 5/1998, 8/1998 – 1/1999, 8/1999 – 7/2000, 9/2000, 4/2001, 4/2002 – 8/2002, 12/2002, and 7/2003 – 6/2005.
West Grove	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 2/2004 – 7/2005.
Wilmington	Minutes, 7/1997 – 6/2003.

NCYM (C) Meeting Newsletters received in 2005 - 2006:
Friendship, Virginia Beach, West Grove

Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting and Association (SAYMA) Deposits

Meeting Name	Deposit
Berea	Minutes, 7/2005 – 6/2006.
Celo	Minutes, 6/2003 – 11/2004, 1/2005 – 12/2005.
Memphis	Minutes, 1/2004 – 12/2004, 2/2005 – 12/2005.

SAYMA Meeting Newsletters received in 2005 – 2006:
Charleston, Columbia

Record Groups

Record Group	Deposit
Davidson Friends Meeting	Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1990 – 2005.
Quaker House	Two linear feet of general files.

^Regular annualized deposits of college publications and campus materials are not listed. However, any major deposits, such as those that start new record series or fill major gaps, are listed in the annual report.

Book Reviews

Milton Ready. *The Tar Heel State: A History of North Carolina.* Columbia, S.C.: The University of South Carolina Press, 2005. 384 pp. Illustrated. \$39.95, cloth.

Milton Ready's *The Tar Heel State: A History of North Carolina*, is the sort of textbook that should spur beginning students and other readers to search deeper for details on a range of historical topics. Focusing from the opening on the distinctiveness of North Carolina's geography, Ready describes throughout how the east-west arrangement of Coastal Plain, Piedmont and Highlands attracted folk whose own history and experience led them to adapt well to those varied topographies. These early European pioneers, while primarily maintaining dispersed settlement patterns, brought a style of prudent, incremental development in agriculture and industry coupled with an evolution of political ideology that, while emphasizing a challenging mix of individualism, interdependence and community, has resulted in the paradoxical coexistence of strong strains of progressive and conservative politics within the Tar Heel state.

Ready is compelling in his descriptions of Carolina society during the colonial, early independence and antebellum periods. Often taking a thematic approach, in specific chapters he depicts slave and Cherokee daily life quite well (though other North Carolina Native American groups such as the Lumbee or the Tuscarora could have received more consideration). In keeping with this attention to folkways and culture, the author asserts that the frugality, prudence, and simplicity of the statesman Nathaniel Macon were seminal to North Carolina's immediate post-independence development, reflecting the will of the people of the state more than the thought of the actual Founding Fathers.

In addition to the close attention to everyday life, Ready also does a masterful job of describing strategies and battles in both the War for Independence and the Civil War. His narrative of Nathaniel Greene's Carolinas Campaign and the Battle of Guilford Courthouse is particularly informative and well done. So too his description of

the fall of Fort Fisher and the last days of fighting in North Carolina, including the Battle of Bentonville, are detailed and well-placed within the overall historical context.

For many, Ready's inclusion of Western North Carolina into the overall history of the state to a degree never before done will be welcome. The region has indeed been neglected and such a correction was sorely needed. That the author does this without slighting the Coastal Plain and the Piedmont in the least is commendable.

The reader should be aware that *The Tar Heel State: A History of North Carolina* is an interpretive work (the author is perfectly forthcoming in this regard). This aspect is particularly conspicuous when the author turns to the twentieth century and topics such as the Civil Rights Movement and the South's swing from solid Democrat to predominantly Republican in national electoral politics. The author provides fine starter bibliographies at the conclusion of each chapter from which the reader may glean some of the most recent, as well as established, sources on the issues addressed and ultimately bring their own critique to bear. *The Tar Heel State* is also enlivened with a great many illustrations and reproductions of primary source material.

Readers interested in the history of the Society of Friends in North Carolina may be somewhat perturbed as Ready truly does not do justice to Quaker involvement in Cary's Rebellion, one of the formative events in the colony's early political and religious life. Likewise, Quakers do not receive recognition for their work on the Underground Railroad and in the state's more overt anti-slavery movement to the degree that they deserve. Indeed, while Ready devotes much effort exploring the state's indecisiveness regarding the secession issue, and should be applauded for it, this reader would have appreciated more attention paid to pre-Civil War Unionist sentiment as well as dissent after North Carolina joined the Confederacy.

Race is most certainly an incredibly significant matter in the state's history and while Ready does not avoid it there are times when it deserved more attention. While Ready discusses the Wilmington Riot of 1898 and *coup d'etat* he brushes too quickly over the Democratic Party's not so subtle introduction of the Race Card into

its statewide campaign creating the tension that would yield such lawlessness, especially given the consistent reemergence of that tactic throughout the twentieth century. Later when discussing the Civil Rights Movement Ready laudably points out the role that returning African American Second World War veterans played, but when exploring the movement in the 1960s and 1970s he does not bring to light the corresponding, albeit distinctive, influence wrought by Vietnam veterans. Overall the picture painted during those days is one of a North Carolina much more peaceful than other southern neighbors. Such an image can be misleading. While Ready should be congratulated for such touches as bringing the life of the radical African-American activist Robert F. Williams to a textbook, as well as pointing to the importance of Judge James B. McMillan's decision in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1969) regarding desegregation, resistance to Federal edicts involving civil rights were often vocal and even violent and not nearly as widely-accepted by the white population as this text might lead some readers to believe.

The book is more thematic than linear and can produce confusion as certain readers may find themselves propelled forward then subsequently brought backward in time as details are revealed, or those previously introduced are expanded upon. Along these lines a glossary would have been very helpful, not only in keeping now obscure governors and senators properly accounted for but also in defining certain terms of industry or politics in their historical context.

These negatives aside, *The Tar Heel State* is a text that all North Carolina historians should have on their shelf alongside the works of Powell and Lefler. To be sure, Ready sheds light on many topics omitted by his illustrious precursors. For this reason alone *The Tar Heel State* is a valuable work. Well written and flecked with delightful prose, students and casual readers alike will find *The Tar Heel State* enlightening and useful, bringing to bear new issues in the state's history and fresh interpretations of old ones.

Alvis Dunn
Guilford College

Margery Post Abbott, Mary Ellen Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John William Oliver, Jr. *The A to Z of Friends (Quakers)*. No. 18 of *The A to Z Guide Series*. Lanham, Maryland and Toronto and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2006. xxx + 383 pp. Acronyms and Abbreviations, Chronology, Introduction, bibliography, index. Paperback, \$40.00.

The A to Z of Friends (Quakers) is a revised paperback edition of the *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)* published by Scarecrow Press in 2003. This book is an excellent reference tool for personal, meeting and public libraries. Useful for genealogical or Quaker history research, for personal interest or for Sunday school or Quaker studies coursework, this is a dictionary that concentrates on the Quaker historical context of each entry. It includes people, groups (yearly meetings, organizations, movements) and some terms. Other religious dictionaries may give parts of some of the religious terms, but not include the people (Quakers) involved, might note which terms came into use within Quaker history but not explain their connotations.

This reference tool attempts to give worldwide coverage, including items from Europe, Africa, and Australia. Although not much coverage is given to the individual yearly meetings or to the umbrella groups, such as Friends United Meeting or Friends General Conference, the reader needs to remember that this is a one-volume dictionary and not an encyclopedia. The bibliography and suggested websites can be used to amplify the information referred to or included in an entry. The index includes people, place and organizational names as well as some terms peculiar to Quaker concerns. Those readers less familiar with Quaker terminology will find *see* and *see also* references, such as *anti-slavery* *see* *abolition* and *Discipline* *see also* *Queries and Advices; the names of specific yearly meeting, e.g., Britain YM*.

Those readers who are familiar with the *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)* and appreciate the scope and depth of the entries, will be delighted to have a less expensive paperback copy available. The cover of this paperback does not resemble the somber classical hardback, but the interior has the same page format,

typeface, layout and physical size; the entries are identical, with identical pagination. The paperback's index is identical to the index of the hardback edition. The revision is a severe paring of the bibliography from fifty-three pages in the *Historical Dictionary* to six pages in *The A to Z of Friends (Quakers)*. The introductory paragraph to the bibliography does advise the reader to refer to the *Historical Dictionary* for a more complete listing (which includes more of what are considered the Quaker classics).

This reviewer prefers *The A to Z of Friends (Quakers)* for the serious reader's home collection, the smaller meeting library or a public library's reference collection. Its bibliography is admittedly much smaller but consists of the more recent titles covering the topics found in the work. Many of the books included in this bibliography are still in print or are recent enough to be readily available through interlibrary loan or from university or college libraries.

Rausie Hobson

The North Carolina Friends Historical Society

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